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The Shakespeare Head Edition
of the Novels and Selected Writings
of Daniel Defoe
COLONEL JACK
Volume I



THE HISTORY Of the most Remarkable LIFE, and Extra- ordinary Adventures, of the truly Honour- able COLONEL JAQUE, vulgarly call'd COLONEL JACK

Who was born a Gentleman, put Apprentice to a Pick-Pocket, flourish'd Six and Twenty Years as a Thief, and was then Kidnapp'd to Virginia: Came back a Merchant, was Five Times married to Four Whores, went into the Wars, behav'd Bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment; return'd again to England, follow'd the Fortunes of the Chevalier de St George, was taken at the Preston Rebellion; receiv'd his Pardon from the late King, is now at the Head of his Regiment, in the Service of the Czarina fighting against the Turks, compleating a Life of Wonders, and resolves to die a General.

Written by the Author of Robinson Crusoe

Volume I

OXFORD: BASIL BLACKWELL
Publisher to the SHAKESPEARE HEAD PRESS
of STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

1927

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THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK was first published on the 20th of December, 1722, in one volume octavo, and was entitled, 'The History and remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque, vulgarly call'd Colonel Jack, who was Born a Gentleman, put 'Prentice to a Pick-Pocket, was Six-and-Twenty Years a Thief, and then Kidnapp'd to VIRGINIA. Came back a Merchant; was Five times married to Four *Whores*; went into the *Wars*, behav'd bravely, got Preferment, was made a Colonel of a Regiment, came over, and fled with the *Chevalier*, is still abroad compleating a Life of Wonders, and resolves to dye a GENERAL. LONDON: Printed and sold by J. BROTHERTON, at the *Royal Exchange*; T. PAYNE, near *Stationers'-Hall*; W. MEARS, at the *Lamb*, and A. DODD, at the *Peacock* without *Temple-Bar*; W. CHETWOOD, in *Covent-Garden*; J. GRAVES, in *St. James's-Street*; S. CHAPMAN, in *Pall-Mall*, and J. STAGG, at *Westminster-Hall*. MDCCXXII.' (Title and Preface, pp. vii and pp. 399.)

A second edition by the same booksellers appeared on the 19th of January in the following year; a third in 1724; and a fourth, printed for WARD & CHANDLER, at the *Ship* without *Temple-Bar*, in 1738. 8vo.

The present text is that of the fifth edition, 'Printed by J. APPLEBEE, for WARD & CHANDLER, Booksellers, at the *Ship* just without *Temple-Bar*, and sold also at their Shops in *Coney-Street*, *York*, and at *Scarborough-Spaw*. M.DCC.XXXIX.

THE PREFACE

PREFACES are so customary before Books of this Nature, to introduce them into the World by a Display of their Excellencies, that it might be thought too presuming to send this Performance abroad, without some such Preliminary. And yet I may venture to say it needs this good office as little as any that has ever gone before it. The pleasant and delightful Part speaks for itself; the useful and instructive is so large, and has such a Tendency to improve the Mind, and rectify the Manners, that it would employ a Volume, large as itself, to particularize the Instructions that may be drawn from it.

HERE'S Room for just and copious Observations, on the Blessing, and Advantages of a sober and well-govern'd Education, and the Ruin of so many Thousands of all Ranks in this Nation, for want of it here; also we may see how much publick Schools and Charities might be improved to prevent the Destruction of so many unhappy Children, as, in this Town, are every Year bred up for the Executioner.

THE miserable Condition of multitudes of Youth, many of whose natural Tempers are docible, and would lead them to learn the best Things rather than the worst, is truly deplorable, and is abundantly seen in the History of this Man's Childhood; where, though Circumstances form'd him by Necessity to be a Thief, surprizing Rectitude of Principles remain'd with him, and made him early abhor the worst Part of his Trade, and at length to forsake the whole of it. Had he come into the World with the Advantage of a virtuous Education, and been instructed how to improve the generous Principles he had in him, what a Figure might he not have made, either as a Man, or a Christian.

THE various Turns of his Fortune, in different Scenes of Life, make a delightful Field for the Reader to wander in; a Garden where he may gather wholesome and Medicinal Fruits,

none noxious or poisonous; where he will see Virtue, and the Ways of Wisdom, every where applauded, honour'd, encourag'd, and rewarded; Vice and Extravagance attended with Sorrow, and every kind of Infelicity; and at last, Sin and Shame going together, the Offender meeting with Reproach, and Contempt, and the Crimes with Detestation and Punishment.

EVERY vicious Reader will here be encouraged to a Change, and it will appear that the best and only good End of an impious mispent Life is Repentance; that in this, there is Comfort, Peace, and often Times Hope, that the Penitent shall be received like the Prodigal, and his latter End be better than his Beginning.

A BOOK founded on so useful a Plan, calculated to answer such valuable Purposes as have been Specified, can require no Apology: Nor is it of any Concern to the Reader, whether it be an exact historical Relation of real Facts, or whether the Hero of it intended to present us, at least in part, with a moral Romance: On either Supposition it is equally Serviceable for the Discouragement of Vice, and the Recommendation of Virtue.

DANIEL DEFOE

THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK

SEEING my Life has been such a chequer Work of Nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer Distance, than is ordinarily the Fate of the Clan to which I once belong'd; I think my History may find a Place in the World, as well as some, who I see are every Day read with Pleasure, tho' they have in them nothing so Diverting, or Instructing, as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as any Body's for ought I know, for my Mother kept very good Company, but that Part belongs to her Story, more than to mine; all I know of it, is by oral Tradition; my Nurse told me my Mother was a Gentlewoman, that my Father was a Man of Quality, and she (my Nurse) had a good Piece of Money given her to take me off his Hands, and deliver him and my Mother from the Importunities that usually attend the Misfortune, of having a Child to keep that should not be seen or heard of.

My Father, it seems, gave my Nurse something more than was agreed for at my Mother's Request, upon her solemn Promise, that she would use me well, and let me be put to School, and charg'd her, that if I liv'd to come to any Bigness, capable to understand the Meaning of it, she should always take Care to bid me *remember, that I was a*

Gentleman; and this, he said, was all the Education he would desire of her for me; for he did not Doubt, he said, but that some Time or other, the very Hint would inspire me with Thoughts suitable to my Birth, and that I would certainly act like a Gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

BUT my Disasters were not directed to an End as soon as they began; 'tis very seldom that the Unfortunate are so but for a Day; as the Great rise by Degrees of Greatness to the Pitch of Glory, in which they shine, so the Miserable sink to the Depth of their Misery by a continu'd Series of Disaster, and are long in the Tortures and Agonies of their distress'd Circumstances, before a Turn of Fortune, if ever such a Thing happens to them, gives them a Prospect of Deliverance.

My Nurse was as honest to the Engagement she had enter'd into, as cou'd be expected from one of her Employment, and particularly as honest as her Circumstances would give her Leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own Son, and with another Son of Shame like me, who she had taken upon the same Terms.

My Name was *John*, as she told me, but neither she or I, knew any Thing of a Surname that belong'd to me; so I was left to call myself Mr. Any-thing, what I pleas'd, as Fortune and better Circumstances should give occasion.

It happen'd that her own Son (*for she had a little Boy of her own, about One Year older than I*) was call'd *John* too, and about two Year after she took another, *Son of Shame*, as I call'd it above, to keep as she did me, and his Name was *John* too.

As we were all *Johns*, we were all *Jacks*, and soon came to be call'd so; for at that Part of the Town, where we had

our Breeding, *viz.* near *Goodman's-fields*, the *Johns* are generally call'd *Jack*; but my Nurse, who may be allow'd to distinguish her own Son a little from the rest, would have him call'd Captain, because forsooth he was the Eldest.

I WAS provok'd at having this Boy call'd Captain, and I cry'd, and told my Nurse, I would be call'd Captain; for she told me I was a Gentleman, and I would be a Captain, that I would: The good Woman, to keep the Peace, told me, ay, ay, I was a Gentleman, and therefore I should be above a Captain, for I should be a Colonel, and that was a great deal better than a Captain; for my Dear, *says she*, every Tarpawlin, if he gets but to be Lieutenant of a press Smack, is call'd Captain, but Colonels are Soldiers, and none but Gentlemen are ever made Colonels; besides, *says she*, I have known Colonels come to be Lords, and Generals, tho' they were Bas—ds at first, and therefore you shall be call'd Colonel.

WELL, I was hush'd indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleas'd, till a little while after I heard her tell her own Boy, that I was a Gentleman, and therefore he must call me Colonel, at which her Boy fell a crying, and he would be call'd Colonel; that Part pleas'd me to the Life, that he should cry to be call'd Colonel, for then I was satisfy'd that it was above a Captain: So universally is Ambition seated in the Minds of Men, that not a Beggar-boy but has his Share of it.

So here was Colonel *Jack*, and Captain *Jack*, as for the third Boy, he was only plain *Jack* for some Years after, till he came to Preferment by the Merit of his Birth, as you shall hear in its Place.

WE were hopeful Boys all Three of us, and promis'd

very early by many repeated Circumstances of our Lives, that we would be all Rogues, and yet I cannot say, if what I have heard of my Nurses Character be true, but the honest Woman did what she cou'd to prevent it.

BEFORE I tell you much more of our Story, it would be very proper to give you something of our several Characters, as I have gather'd them up in my Memory, as far back as I can recover Things, either of myself, or my Brother *Jacks*, and they shall be Brief and Impartial.

Capt. JACK, was the eldest of us all, by a whole Year, he was a squat, big, strong made Boy, and promis'd to be stout when grown up to be a Man, but not to be tall. His Temper was sly, sullen, reserv'd, malicious, revengeful; and withal, he was brutish, bloody, and cruel in his Disposition; he was as to Manners a meer Boor, or Clown, of a Carman like Breed; sharp as a Street-bred-Boy must be, but ignorant and unteachable from a Child. He had much the Nature of a Bull Dog, bold and desperate, but not generous at all; all the School-Mistresses we went to, could never make him learn, no, not so much as to make him know his Letters; and as if he was born a Thief, he would steal every thing that came near him, even as soon almost as he could Speak; and that, not from his Mother only, but from any Body else, and from us too that were his Brethren and Companions. He was an original Rogue, for he would do the foulest and most villainous Things, even by his own Inclination; he had no Taste or Sense of being Honest, no, not, I say, to his Brother Rogues, which is what other Thieves make a Point of Honour of; I mean that of being Honest to one another.

THE other, that is to say, the youngest of us *Johns*, was called Major *Jack*, by the Accident following; the Lady

that had deposited him with our Nurse, had own'd to her that it was a Major of the Guards that was the Father of the Child; but that she was obliged to conceal his Name, and that was enough. So he was at first call'd *John the Major*, and afterwards the *Major*, and at last, when we came to rove together, Major *Jack* according to the rest, for his Name was *John*, as I have observ'd already.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious pleasant Boy, had a good Share of Wit, especially *Off-hand-Wit*, as they call it; was full of Jests and good Humour, and as I often said, had some thing of a Gentleman in him; he had a true Manly Courage, fear'd nothing, and could look Death in the Face, without any Hesitation; and yet if he had the Advantage, was the most generous and most compassionate Creature alive; he had native Principles of Gallantry in him, without any Thing of the brutal or terrible Part that the Captain had; and in a Word, he wanted nothing but Honesty to have made him an excellent Man; he had learn'd to read as I had done, and as he talk'd very well, so he wrote good Sense, and very handsome Language, as you will see in the Process of his Story.

As for your humble Servant, Colonel *Jack*, he was a poor unhappy tractable Dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn any Thing, if he had had any but the Devil for his School-Master: He set out into the World so early, that when he began to do Evil, he understood nothing of the Wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it: I remember very well, that when I was once carried before a Justice, for a Theft which indeed I was not guilty of, and defended my self by Argument, proving the Mistakes of my Accusers, and how they contradicted themselves; the Justice told me it was pity I had not been better em-

ploy'd, for I was certainly better taught; in which however his Worship was mistaken, for I had never been taught any Thing, but to be a Thief; except, as I said, to read and write, and that was all, before I was ten Years old: But I had a natural Talent of Talking, and could say as much to the Purpose as most People that had been taught no more than I.

I pass'd among my Comrades for a bold resolute Boy, and one that durst fight any Thing; but I had a different Opinion of my self, and therefore shunn'd fighting as much as I could, tho' sometimes I ventur'd too, and came off well, being very strong made, and nimble withal. However, I many Times brought my self off with my Tongue, where my Hands would not be sufficient; and this as well after I was a Man, as while I was a Boy.

I was wary and dextrous at my Trade, and was not so often catch'd as my Fellow Rogues, I mean while I was a Boy, and never, after I came to be a Man, no, not once for 26 Years, being so old in the Trade, and still unhang'd, as you shall hear.

As for my Person, while I was a dirty Glass-Bottle House Boy, sleeping in the Ashes, and dealing always in the Street Dirt, it cannot be expected but that I look'd like what I was, and so we did all; that is to say, like a *Black your Shoes your Honour*, a Beggar Boy, a Black-Guard Boy, or what you please, despicable, and miserable, to the last Degree; and yet I remember, the People would say of me, that Boy has a good Face, if he was wash'd and well dress'd, he would be a good pretty Boy, do but look what Eyes he has, what a pleasant smiling Countenance, 'tis pity! I wonder what the Rogue's Father and Mother was, and the like; then they would call me, and ask me my

Name, and I would tell them my Name was *Jack*. But what's your Surname, Sirrah? says they: I don't know, says I: Who is your Father and Mother? I have none, said I. What, and never had you any? said they: No, says I, not that I know of: Then they would shake their Heads, and cry, poor Boy! and 'tis a Pity! *and the like!* and so let me go. But I laid up all these Things in my Heart.

I was almost 10 Years old, the Captain 11, and the Major about 8, when the good Woman my Nurse died; her Husband was a Seaman, and had been drown'd a little before in the *Gloucester* Frigate, one of the King's Ships which was cast away going to *Scotland* with the Duke of *York*, in the Time of King *Charles II.* and the honest Woman dying very poor, the Parish was oblig'd to bury her; when the three young *Jacks* attended her Corps, and I the Colonel, (for we all pass'd for her own Children) was Chief Mourner, the Captain, who was the eldest Son, going back very sick.

THE good Woman being dead, we, the three *Jacks* were turn'd loose to the World; as to the Parish providing for us, we did not trouble our selves much about that; we rambl'd about all three together, and the People in *Rosemary-Lane* and *Ratcliff*, and that Way, knowing us pretty well, we got Victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

FOR my particular Part, I got some Reputation, for a mighty civil honest Boy; for if I was sent of an Errand, I always did it punctually and carefully, and made Haste again; and if I was trusted with any Thing, I never touch'd it to diminish it, but made it a Point of Honour to be punctual to whatever was committed to me, tho' I was as Errant a Thief as any of them in all other Cases.

IN like Case, some of the poorer Shop-Keepers would often leave me at their Door, to look after their Shops, 'till they went up to Dinner, or 'till they went over the Way to an Ale-house, and the like, and I always did it freely and chearfully, and with the utmost Honesty.

CAPTAIN *Jack* on the contrary, a surly, ill-look'd rough Boy, had not a Word in his Mouth that favour'd either of good Manners, or good Humour; he wou'd say yes and no, just as he was asked a Question, and that was all, but no Body got any Thing from him that was obliging in the least; if he was sent of an Errand he would forget half of it, and it may be go to play, if he met any Boys, and never go at all, or if he went never come back with an Answer; which was such a regardless, disobliging Way, that no Body had a good Word for him, and every Body said he had the very Look of a Rogue, and would come to be hang'd: In a Word, he got nothing of any Body for good Will, but was as it were oblig'd to turn Thief, for the meer Necessity of Bread to eat; for if he begg'd, he did it with so ill a Tone, rather like bidding Folks give him Victuals than entreating them, that one Man of whom he had something given, and knew him, told him one Day, Capt. *Jack*, says he, thou art but an awkward, ugly sort of a Beggar now thou art a Boy, I doubt thou wilt be fitter to ask a Man for his Purse than for a Penny, when thou comest to be a Man.

THE Major was a merry thoughtless Fellow, always chearful, whether he had any Victuals or no, he never complain'd, and he recommended himself so well by his good Carriage, that the Neighbours lov'd him, and he got Victuals enough one where or other: Thus we all made shift, tho' we were so little to keep from starving, and as

for Lodging, we lay in the Summer-Time about the Watch-houses, and on Bulk-heads, and Shop-Doors, where we were known; as for a Bed we knew nothing what belong'd to it for many Years after my Nurse died, and in Winter we got into the Ash-holes, and Nealing-Arches in the Glass-house, call'd *Dallow's Glass-house in Rosemary-Lane*, or at another Glass-house in *Ratcliff-Highway*.

IN this Manner we liv'd for some Years, and here we fail'd not to fall among a Gang of naked, ragged Rogues like ourselves, wicked as the Devil cou'd desire to have them be, at so early an Age, and ripe for all the other Parts of Mischief that suited them as they advanc'd in Years.

I remember that one cold Winter Night we were disturbed in our Rest with a Constable and his Watch, crying out for one *Wry-Neck*, who it seems had done some Roguery, and requir'd a Hue and Cry of that Kind, and the Watch were inform'd he was to be found among the Beggar Boys under the Nealing-arches in the Glass-house.

THE Alarm being given, we were awaken'd in the Dead of the Night with *Come out here, ye Crew of young Devils, come out and show yourselves*; so we were all produc'd, some came out rubbing their Eyes, and scratching their Heads, and others were dragg'd out, and I think there was about Seventeen of us in all, but *Wry-neck*, as they call'd him, was not among them; it seems this was a good big Boy, that us'd to be among the Inhabitants of that Place, and had been concern'd in a Robbery the Night before, in which his Comrade, who was taken, who in Hopes of escaping Punishment had discovered him, and inform'd where he usually harbour'd; but he was aware it seems, and had secur'd himself, at least for that Time; so we were allowed to return to our warm Apartment among the

Coal-ashes, where I slept many a cold Winter Night: Nay, I may say, many a Winter, as sound, and as comfortably as ever I did since, tho' in better Lodgings.

IN this manner of living we went on a good while, I believe two Year, and neither did, or meant any Harm: We generally went all three together; for in short, the Captain for want of Address, and for something disagreeable in him, would have starv'd if we had not kept him with us: As we were always together, we were generally known by the Name of the three *Jacks*; but Colonel *Jack* had always the Preference upon many Accounts; the Major, as I have said, was merry and pleasant, but the Colonel always held Talk with the better Sort, I mean the better sort of those that would converse with a Beggar Boy: In this Way of Talk, I was always upon the Inquiry, asking Questions of Things done in Publick as well as in Private, particularly I lov'd to talk with Seamen and Soldiers about the War, and about the great Sea-Fights, or Battles on Shore, that any of them had been in; and as I never forgot any Thing they told me, I could soon, that is to say, in a few Years give almost as good an Account of the Dutch War, and of the Fights at Sea, the Battles in *Flanders*, the taking of *Maestricht*, and the like, as any of those that had been there, and this made those old Soldiers and Tars love to talk with me too, and to tell me all the Stories they could think of, and that not only of the Wars then going on, but also of the Wars in *Oliver's* Time, the Death of King *Charles I.* and the like.

By this Means, as young as I was, I was a kind of an Historian, and tho' I had read no Books, and never had any Books to read, yet I cou'd give a tollerable Account of what had been done, and of what was then a doing in

the World, especially in those Things that our own People were concern'd in. I knew the Names of every Ship in the Navy, and who commanded them too, and all this before I was 14 Year old, or but very soon after.

CAPT. *Jack* in this Time fell into bad Company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard Tale or Tidings of him, till about half a Year I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a Gang of Kidnappers, as they were then call'd, being a sort of wicked Fellows that us'd to spirit Peoples Children away, that is, snatch them up in the Dark, and stopping their Mouths, carry them to such Houses where they had Rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on Board of Ships bound to *Virginia*, and sell them.

THIS was a Trade that horrid *Jack*, for so I call'd him, when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent Part; for if a little Child got into his Clutches, he would stop the Breath of it, instead of stopping its Mouth, and never troubled his Head with the Child's being almost strangl'd, so he did but keep it from making a Noise. There was it seems some villainous Thing done by this Gang about that Time, whether a Child was murther'd among them, or a Child otherwise abus'd; but it seems it was a Child of an eminent Citizen, and the Parent somehow or other got a Scent of the Thing, so that they recover'd their Child, tho' in a sad Condition, and almost kill'd; I was too young, and it was too long ago for me to remember the whole Story, but they were all taken up and sent to *Newgate*, and Capt. *Jack* among the rest, tho' he was but young, for he was not then much above 13 Years old.

WHAT Punishment was inflicted upon the Rogues of

that Gang I cannot tell now, but the Captain being but a Lad, was order'd to be three Times soundly whipt at *Bridewell*; my Lord-Mayor, or the Recorder telling him, it was done in Pity to him, to keep him from the Gallows, not forgetting to tell him, that he had a hanging Look, and bid him have a Care on that very Account; so remarkable was the Captain's Countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many Occasions: When he was in *Bridewell*, I heard of his Misfortune, and the Major and I went to see him, for this was the first News we heard of what became of him.

THE very Day that we went, he was call'd out to be corrected, *as they call'd it*, according to his Sentence, and as it was order'd to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the Sentence, for the Alderman, who was the President of *Bridewell*, and who I think they call'd Sir *William Turner*, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a Youth should come to be hang'd, and a great deal more, how he shou'd take Warning by it, and how wicked a Thing it was, that they should steal away poor innocent Children, and the like; and all this while the Man with a blue Badge on, lash'd him most unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir *William* knock'd with a little Hammer on the Table.

THE poor Captain stamp'd and danc'd, and roar'd out like a mad Boy; and I must confess, I was frighted almost to Death; for tho' I could not come near enough, being but a poor Boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his Back all wheal'd with the Lashes, and in several Places bloody, and thought I should have died with the Sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those Things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor Captain, when I got Leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such Whippings before they had done with him; and indeed they scourg'd him so severely, that they made him sick of the Kidnapping Trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that Trade lasted, for it ceased in a few Years afterwards.

THE Major and I, tho' very young, had sensible Impressions made upon us for some Time, by the severe Usage of the Captain, and it might be very well said, we were corrected as well as he, tho' not concerned in the Crime: But it was within the Year that the Major, a good condition'd easy Boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young Rogues that frequented the Glass-house Apartments, to take a Walk with them, as they were pleased to call it: The Gentlemen were very well match'd, the Major was about 12 Years old, and the oldest of the two that led him out, was not above 14; the Business was to go to *Bartholomew-Fair*, and the End of going to *Bartholomew-Fair*, was in short, to pick Pockets.

THE Major knew nothing of the Trade, and therefore was to do nothing, but they promised him a Share for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dextrous young Rogues manag'd it so well, that by about 8 o'Clock at Night, they came back to our Dusty Quarters at the Glass-house, and sitting them down in a Corner, they began to share their Spoil, by the Light of the Glass-house Fire: The Major lug'd out the Goods, for as fast as they made any Purchase, they unloaded themselves and gave all to him, that if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a devilish lucky Day to them, the Devil certainly assisting them to find their Prey, that he might draw in a young Gamester, and encourage him to the Undertaking, who had been made backward before by the Misfortune of the Captain. The List of their Purchase the first Night, was as follows.

I. A white Handkerchief from a Country Wench, as she was staring up at a *Jack-pudding*, there was 3s. 6d. and a Row of Pins tied up in one End of it.

II. A colour'd Handkerchief, out of a young Country Fellow's Pocket as he was buying a *China Orange*.

III. A Ribband Purse with 11s. 3d. and a Silver Thimble in it, out of a young Woman's Pocket, just as a Fellow offer'd to pick her up.

N.B. She mist her Purse presently, but not seeing the Thief, charg'd the Man with it that would have pick'd her up, and cry'd out a Pick-Pocket, and he fell into the Hands of the Mob, but being known in the Street, he got off with great Difficulty.

IV. A Knife and Fork, that a Couple of Boys had just bought, and were going Home with; the young Rogue that took it, got it within the Minute after the Boy had put it in his Pocket.

V. A little Silver Box with 7s. in it, all in small Silver, 1d. 2d. 3d. 4d. Pieces.

N.B. This it seems a Maid pull'd out of her Pocket, to pay at her going into the Booth to see a Show, and the little Rogue got his Hand in and fetch'd it off, just as she put it up again.

VI. Another Silk Handkerchief, out of a Gentleman's Pocket.

VII. Another.

VIII. A jointed Baby, and a little Looking-Glass stolen off a Toy Seller's Stall in the Fair.

ALL this Cargo to be brought Home clear in one Afternoon, or Evening rather, and by only two little Rogues so young, was, it must be confessed extraordinary; and the Major was elevated the next Day to a strange Degree.

HE came very early to me, who lay not far from him, and said to me, Colonel *Jack* I want to speak with you. Well, said I, what do you say? Nay, said he, it is Business of Consequence, I cannot talk here, so we walk'd out: As soon as we were come out into a narrow Lane, by the Glass-house, look here, says he, and pulls out his little Hand almost full of Money.

I was surpriz'd at the Sight, when he puts it up again, and bringing his Hand out, here says he, you shall have some of it, and gives me a Six-pence, and a Shillings worth of the small Silver Pieces. This was very welcome to me, who, as much as I was of a Gentleman, and as much as I thought of my self upon that Account, never had a Shilling of Money together before in all my Life, not that I could call my own.

I was very earnest then to know how he came by this Wealth, for he had for his Share 7s. 6d. in Money, the silver Thimble, and a silk Handkerchief, which was in short an Estate to him, that never had, as I said of myself a Shilling together in his Life.

AND what will you do with it now *Jack* said I? I do, says he, the first Thing I do, I'll go into *Rag-Fair* and buy me a pair of Shoes and Stockings, that's right, says I, and so will I too; so away we went together, and we bought

each of us a pair of *Rag-Fair* Stockings in the first Place for 5d. not 5d. a Pair, but 5d. together, and good Stockings they were too, much above our wear I assure you.

WE found it more difficult to fit our selves with Shoes, but at last, having look'd a great while before we cou'd find any good enough for us, we found a Shop very well stor'd, and of these we bought two pair for Sixteen-pence.

WE put them on immediately to our great Comfort, for we had neither of us had any Stockings to our Legs that had any Feet to them for a long Time: I found my self so refresh'd with having a pair of warm Stockings on, and a pair of dry Shoes; Things, I say, which I had not been acquainted with a great while, that I began to call to mind my being a Gentleman, and now I thought it began to come to pass; when we had thus fitted ourselves, I said, hark ye, Major *Jack*, you and I never had any Money in our Lives before, and we never had a good Dinner in all our Lives; what if we should go somewhere and get some Victuals, I am very hungry?

So we will then says the Major, I am a hungry too; so we went to a boiling Cook's in *Rosemary-Lane*, where we treated our selves nobly, and as I thought with my self we began to live like Gentlemen, for we had Three-penny worth of boil'd Beef, Two-penny worth of Pudding, a Penny Brick, (as they call it, or Loaf) and a whole Pint of strong Beer, which was 7d. in all.

N.B. We had each of us a good Mess of charming Beef Broth into the Bargain; and which chear'd my Heart wonderfully, all the while we were at Dinner, the Maid and the Boy in the House every Time they pass'd by the open Box where we sat at our Dinner, would look in, and cry, Gentlemen do you call? and

do ye call Gentlemen? I say this was as good to me as all my Dinner.

NOT the best House-keeper in *Stepney* Parish, not my Lord-Mayor of *London*, no, not the greatest Man on Earth could be more happy in their own Imagination, and with less Mixture of Grief or Reflection, than I was at this new Piece of Felicity, tho' mine was but a small Part of it, for Major *Jack* had an Estate compar'd to me, as I had an Estate compar'd to what I had before: In a Word, nothing but an utter Ignorance of greater Felicity, which was my Case, could make any Body think himself so exalted as I did, tho' I had no Share of this Booty but 18d.

THAT Night the Major and I triumph'd in our new Enjoyment, and slept with an undisturb'd Repose in the usual Place, surrounded with the Warmth of the Glass-house Fires above, which was a full Amends for all the Ashes and Cinders which we roll'd in below.

THOSE who know the Position of the Glass-houses, and the Arches where they Neal the Bottles after they are made, know that those Places where the Ashes are cast, and where the poor Boys lie, are Caveties in the Brick-Work, perfectly close, except at the Entrance, and consequently warm as the Dressing-room of a *Bagnio*, that it is impossible they can feel any Cold there, were it in *Greenland*, or *Nova Zembla*, and that therefore the Boys lie not only safe, but very comfortably, the Ashes excepted, which are no Grievance at all to them.

THE next Day the Major and his Comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any Disaster attend them, for I know not how many Months, and by frequent Imitation and Direction, Major *Jack* became as

dextrous a Pick-pocket as any of them, and went on thro' a long variety of Fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own Story, which at present is the main Thing I have to set down.

THE Major fail'd not to let me see every Day the Effects of his new Prosperity, and was so bountiful, as frequently to throw me a Tester, sometimes a Shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have Cloaths on his Back to leave the Ash-hole, having gotten a Society Lodging (of which I may give an Explanation by itself on another Occasion) and which was more, he took upon him to wear a Shirt, which was what neither he or I had ventur'd to do for three Year before and upward.

But I observ'd all this while, that tho' Major *Jack* was so prosperous, and had thriven so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me Money upon many Occasions, yet he never invited me to enter my self into the Society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he, no, nor did he recommend the Employment to me at all.

I was not very well pleased with his being thus reserv'd to me; I had learn'd from him in general, that the Business was picking of Pockets, and I fancy'd that tho' the Ingenuity of the Trade consisted very much in slight of Hand, a good Address, and being very nimble, yet that it was not at all difficult to learn; and especially I thought the Opportunities were so many, the Country People that come to *London* so foolish, so gaping, and so engag'd in looking about them, that it was a Trade with no great Hazard annex'd to it, and might be easily learn'd, if I did but know in general the Manner of it, and how they went about it.

THE subtile Devil, never absent from his Business, but ready at all Occasions to encourage his Servants, remov'd all these Difficulties, and brought me into an Intimacy with one of the most exquisite Divers or Pick-pockets in the Town; and this our Intimacy was of no less a kind than that, as I had an Inclination to be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking Care that I should not be disappointed.

HE was above the little Fellows who went about stealing Trifles and Baubles in *Bartholomew-Fair*, and run the Risque of being Mobb'd for 3 or 4s. his Aim was at higher Things, even at no less than considerable Sums of Money, and Bills for more.

HE solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shown me my Trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would, that is, as he express'd it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for my self if I pleas'd, and he would only wish me good Luck.

ACCORDINGLY as Major *Jack* went with his Gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the Purchase, and yet come in for a Share; so he told me if he had Success, I should have my Share as much as if I had been Principal; and this he assured me was a Custom of the Trade, in order to encourage young Beginners, and bring them into the Trade with Courage, for that nothing was to be done if a Man had not the Heart of the Lyon.

I hesitated at the Matter a great while, objecting the Hazard, and telling the Story of Captain *Jack* my elder Brother, as I might call him: Well Colonel, says he, I find you are faint Hearted, and to be faint Hearted, is indeed to be unfit for our Trade, for nothing but a bold Heart

can go thro' stitch with this Work; but however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no Risque for you to run in these Things the first Time, if I am taken, says he, you having nothing to do in it, they will let you go free, for it shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done, you had no Hand in it.

Upon those Perswasions I ventur'd out with him; but I soon found that my new Friend was a Thief of Quality, and a Pick-pocket above the ordinary Rank, and that aim'd higher abundantly than my Brother *Jack*; he was a bigger Boy than I a great deal; for tho' I was now near 15 Year old, I was not big of my Age, and as to the Nature of the Thing, I was perfectly a Stranger to it; I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the Thing as an Offence: I look'd on picking Pockets as a Trade, and thought I was to go Apprentice to it; 'tis true, this was when I was young in the Society, as well as younger in Years, but even now I understood it to be only a Thing, for which, if we were catch'd, we run the Risque of being duck'd or pump'd, which we call Soaking, and then all was over; and we made nothing of having our Raggs wetted a little; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the Crime was Capital, and that we might be sent to *Newgate* for it, till a great Fellow, almost a Man, one of our Society was hang'd for it, and then I was terribly frighted, as you shall hear by and by.

WELL, upon the Perswasions of this Lad, I walk'd out with him; a poor innocent Boy, and (as I remember my very Thoughts perfectly well) I had no Evil in my Intentions; I had never stolen any Thing in my Life, and if a Goldsmith had left me in his Shop with heaps of Money

strew'd all round me, and bad me look after it, I should not have touch'd it, I was so honest; but the subtle Tempter baited his Hook for me, as I was a Child, in a manner suitable to my Childishness, for I never took this picking of Pockets to be Dishonesty, but as I have said above, I look'd on it as a kind of Trade, that I was to be bred up too, and so I enter'd upon it, till I became harden'd in it beyond the Power of retreating; and thus I was made a Thief involuntarily, and went on a Length that few Boys do, without coming to the common Period of that kind of Life, I mean to the Transport Ship, or to the Gallows.

THE first Day I went Abroad with my new Instructor, he carried me directly into the City, and as we went first to the Water-side, he led me into the Long Room at the *Custom-house*; we were but a couple of ragg'd Boys at best, but I was much the worse, my Leader had a Hat on, a Shirt, and a Neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoil'd my Manners so much as to have a Hat on my Head since my Nurse died, which was now some Years; his Orders to me were to keep always in Sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any Notice of him at any Time till he came to me; and if any Hurly Burly happen'd, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have any Thing to do with him.

I observ'd my Orders to a Tittle, while he peer'd into every Corner, and had his Eye upon every Body; I kept my Eye directly upon him, but went always at a Distance, and on the other Side of the long Room, looking as it were for Pins, and picking them up out of the Dust as I cou'd find them, and then sticking them on my Sleeve, where I had at last got 40 or 50 good Pins; but still my Eye was upon my Comrade, who I observ'd was very busy among

the Crowds of People that stood at the Board, doing Business with the Officers, who pass the Entries, and make the Cocquets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a Pin close to me, he put something into my Hand, and said, put that up, and follow me down Stairs quickly: He did not run, but shuffl'd along a pace thro' the Crowd, and went down not the great Stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow Stair-case at the other End of the Long-Room; I follow'd, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one Word to me, till thro' innumerable narrow Passages, Alleys, and dark Ways, we were got up into *Fenchurch-street*, and thro' *Billiter-Lane* into *Leaden-hall-street*, and from thence into *Leaden-hall-Market*.

IT was not a Meat-Market Day, so we had Room to sit down upon one of the Butcher's Stalls, and he bid me lug out; what he had given me, was a little Leather Letter-Case, with a *French* Almanack stuck in the inside of it, and a great many Papers in it of several kinds.

WE look'd them over, and found there was several valuable Bills in it, such as Bills of *Exchange*, and other Notes, Things I did not understand; but among the rest was a Goldsmith's Note, as he call'd it, of one Sir *Stephen Evans* for 300*l.* payable to the Bearer, and at Demand, besides this, there was another Note for 12*l.* 10*s.* being a Goldsmith's Bill too, but I forget the Name; there was a Bill or two also written in *French*, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were Things of Value, being call'd Foreign Bills accepted.

THE Rogue my Master knew what belong'd to the Goldsmith's Bills well enough, and I observ'd when he

read the Bill of Sir *Stephen*; he said this is too big for me to meddle with, but when he came to the Bill for 12*l.* 10*s.* he said to me, *this will do, come hither Jack*; so away he runs to *Lombard-street*, and I after him, huddling the other Papers into the Letter-Case; as he went along, he enquir'd the Name out immediately, and went directly to the Shop, put on a good grave Countenance, and had the Money paid him without any Stop or Question ask'd, I stood on the other Side the Way looking about the Street, as not at all concern'd with any Body that Way, but observ'd that when he presented the Bill he pull'd out the Letter-Case, as if he had been a Merchant's Boy, acquainted with Business, and had other Bills about him.

THEY paid him the Money in Gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me, and going into *Three-King-Court*, on the other Side of the Way; then we cross'd back into *Clement's-Lane*, made the best of our Way to *Cole-Harbour*, at the Water-side, and got a Sculler for a *1d.* to carry us over the Water to *St. Mary Over's Stairs*, where we Landed, and were safe enough.

HERE he turns to me, *Colonel Jack*, says he, I believe you are a lucky Boy, this is a good Job, we'll go away to *St. George's-Fields* and share our Booty; away he went to the Fields, and sitting down in the Grass far enough out of the Path, he pull'd out the Money, look here *Jack*, says he, did you ever see the like before in your Life? No, never says I, and added very innocently, *must we have it all?* We have it! says he, who should have it? Why says I, must the Man have none of it again that lost it; he have it again, says he, what d'ye mean by that; Nay, I don't know, says I, why you said just now you would let him have the t'other Bill again, that you said was too big for you.

He laugh'd at me, you are but a little Boy, says he, that's true, but I thought you had not been such a Child neither; so he mighty gravely explain'd the Thing to me thus: That the Bill of Sir *Stephen Evans* was a great Bill for 300*l.* and if I, says he, that am but a poor Lad should venture to go for the Money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a Bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it, so they will stop me, says he, and take it away from me, and it may be bring me into Trouble for it too; so, says he, I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the Man have it again if I could tell how; but for the Money *Jack*, the Money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that; besides, says he, who ever he be that has lost this Letter-Case, to be sure, as soon as he miss'd it, he would run to a Goldsmith and give Notice, that if any Body came for the Money, they would be stopp'd, but I am too old for him there, says he.

WHY, says I, and what will you do with the Bill? Will you throw it away? If you do, somebody else will find it says I, and they will go and take the Money: No, no, says he, then they will be stopp'd and examin'd, as I tell you, I should be: I did not know well what all this meant, so I talk'd no more about that; but we fell to handling the Money, as for me, I had never seen so much together in all my Life, nor did I know what in the World to do with it, and once or twice I was a going to bid him keep it for me, which wou'd have been done like a Child indeed, for to be sure, I had never heard a Word more of it, tho' nothing had befallen him.

HOWEVER, as I happen'd to hold my Tongue as to that Part, he shar'd the Money very honestly with me, only at

the End he told me, that tho' it was true, he promis'd me half, yet as it was the first Time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the Money, which was 12*l.* 10*s.* into two exact Parts, (*viz.*) 6*l.* 5*s.* in each Part, then he took 1*l.* 5*s.* from my Part, and told me I should give him that for Hansel, well, says I, take it then, for I think you deserve it all; so however, I took up the rest, and what shall I do with this now, says I, for I have no where to put it? Why have you no Pockets? says he, yes says I, but they are full of Holes; I have often thought since that, and with some Mirth too, how I had really more Wealth than I knew what to do with, for Lodging I had none, nor any Box or Drawer to hide my Money in, nor had I any Pocket, but such as I say was full of Holes; I knew no Body in the World, that I cou'd go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged Boy, they would presently say, I had robb'd some Body, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my Money would be my Crime, as they say, it often is in Foreign Countries: And now as I was full of Wealth, behold! I was full of Care, for what to do to secure my Money I could not tell, and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next Day, that I truly sat down and cried.

NOTHING cou'd be more perplexing than this Money was to me all that Night, I carried it in my Hand a good while, for it was in Gold all but 14*s.* and that is to say, it was in four Guineas, and that 14*s.* was more difficult to carry then the four Guineas; at last I sat down and pull'd off one of my Shoes, and put the four Guineas into that, but after I had gone a while, my Shoe hurt me so I cou'd not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my

Shoe, and carry it in my Hand, then I found a dirty linnen Rag in the Street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard People say, when they have been talking of Money that they cou'd not get in, I wish I had it in a foul Clout: In Truth, I had mine in a foul Clout, for it was foul according to the Letter of that Saying, but it serv'd me till I came to a convenient Place, and then I sat down and wash'd the Cloth in the Kennel, and so then put my Money in again.

WELL, I carried it Home with me to my Lodging in the Glass-house, and when I went to go to Sleep, I knew not what to do with it; if I had let any of the black Crew I was with know of it, I should have been smother'd in the Ashes for it, or robb'd of it, or some Trick or other put upon me for it; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my Hand, and my Hand in my Bosom, but then Sleep went from my Eyes: O! the Weight of human Care! I a poor Beggar Boy cou'd not sleep as soon as I had but a little Money to keep, who before that, cou'd have slept upon a Heap of Brickbats, Stones, or Cinders, or any where, as sound as a rich Man does on his Down Bed, and sounder too.

EVERY now and then dropping a-sleep, I should Dream that my Money was lost, and start like one frightened; then finding it fast in my Hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while, then drop and start again; at last a Fancy came into my Head, that if I fell a-sleep, I should dream of the Money, and talk of it in my Sleep, and tell that I had Money, which if I should do, and one of the Rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my Bosom, and of my Hand too without waking me, and after that Thought I cou'd not sleep a wink more; so that I pass'd

that Night over in Care and Anxiety enough, and this I may safely say, was the first Nights Rest that I lost by the Cares of this Life, and the deceitfulness of Riches.

As soon as it was Day, I got out of the Hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the Fields towards *Stepney*, and there I mus'd and consider'd what I shou'd do with this Money, and many a Time I wish'd that I had not had it, for after all my ruminating upon it, and what Course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I cou'd not hit upon any one Thing, or any possible Method to secure it, and it perplex'd me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

WHEN my crying was over, the Case was the same; I had the Money still, and what to do with it I could not tell, at last it came into my Head, that I would look out for some Hole in a Tree, and see to hide it there, till I shou'd have occasion for it: Big with this Discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a Tree; but there were no Trees in the Fields about *Stepney*, or *Mile-End*, that look'd fit for my Purpose, and if there were any, that I began to look narrowly at, the Fields were so full of People, that they wou'd see if I went to hide any Thing there, and I thought the People ey'd me as it were, and that two Men in particular follow'd me, to see what I intended to do.

THIS drove me farther off, and I cross'd the Road at *Mile-End*, and in the middle of the Town went down a Lane that goes away to the *Blind Beggars* at *Bednal-Green*; when I came a little way in the Lane, I found a Foot Path over the Fields, and in those Fields several Trees for my Turn as I thought; at last one Tree had a little Hole in it, pretty high out of my Reach, and I climb'd up the Tree

to get it, and when I came there, I put my Hand in, and found, (as I thought) a Place very fit, so I placed my Treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it, but behold, putting my Hand in again to lay it more commodiously as I thought, of a sudden it slipp'd away from me, and I found the Tree was hollow, and my little Parcel was fallen in quite out of my Reach, and how far it might go in I knew not; so, that in a Word, my Money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost, there could be no Room, so much as to Hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great Tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a Fool I was before, that I could not think of Ways to keep my Money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a Hole where I could not reach it; well, I thrust my Hand quite up to my Elbow, but no Bottom was to be found, or any End of the Hole or Cavity; I got a Stick off of the Tree, and thrust it in a great Way, but all was one; then I cry'd, nay, roar'd out, I was in such a Passion, then I got down the Tree again, then up again, and thrust in my Hand again till I scratch'd my Arm and made it bleed, and cry'd all the while most violently: Then I began to think I had not so much as a Half-penny of it left for a Half-penny Roll, and I was hungry, and then I cry'd again: Then I came away in Despair, crying and roaring like a little Boy that had been whipp'd, then I went back again to the Tree, and up the Tree again, and thus I did several Times.

THE last Time I had gotten up the Tree, I happen'd to come down not on the same Side that I went up and came down before, but on the other Side of the Tree, and on the other Side of the Bank also; and behold the Tree had a great open Place in the Side of it close to the Ground, as old hollow Trees often have; and looking into the open

Place to my inexpressible Joy, there lay my Money and my linnen Rag, all wrapp'd up just as I had put it into the Hole: For the Tree being hollow all the Way up, there had been some Moss or light Stuff, (which I had not Judgment enough to know) was not firm, and had given Way when it came to drop out of my Hand, and so it had slipp'd quite down at once.

I WAS but a Child, and I rejoic'd like a Child, for I hollow'd quite out aloud when I saw it; then I run to it and snatch'd it up, hug'd and kiss'd the dirty Rag a hundred Times; then danc'd and jump'd about, run from one End of the Field to the other, and in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now, what I did, tho' I shall never forget the Thing, either what a sinking Grief it was to my Heart when I thought I had lost it, or what a Flood of Joy o'erwhelm'd me when I had got it again.

WHILE I was in the first Transport of my Joy, as I have said, I run about and knew not what I did; but when that was over, I sat down, open'd the foul Clout the Money was in, look'd at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a crying as savourly as I did before when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the Reader should I dwell on all the little Boyish Tricks that I play'd in the Extasy of my Joy and Satisfaction, when I had found my Money; so I break off here: Joy is as extravagant as Grief, and since I have been a Man, I have often thought, that had such a Thing befallen a Man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a Bit of Bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over, I say, had it been so with a Man, it might have hazarded his using some Violence upon himself.

WELL, I came away with my Money, and having taken 6d. out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a Chandler's Shop in *Mile-End*, and bought a Half-penny Roll, and a Half-pennyworth of Cheese, and sat down at the Door after I bought it, and eat it very heartily, and begg'd some Beer to drink with it, which the good Woman gave me very freely.

AWAY I went then for the Town, to see if I cou'd find any of my Companions, and resolv'd I would try no more hollow Trees for my Treasure; as I came along *White-Chapel*, I came by a Broker's Shop over-against the Church, where they sold old Cloaths, for I had nothing on but the worst of Rags; so I stopp'd at the Shop, and stood looking at the Cloaths which hang'd at the Door.

WELL, young Gentleman, says a Man that stood at the Door, you look wishly, do you see any Thing you like, and will your Pocket compass a good Coat now, for you look as if you belong'd to the ragged Regiment: I was affronted at the Fellow, what's that to you, says I, how ragg'd I am, if I had seen any Thing I lik'd, I have Money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking.

WHILE I said thus, pretty boldly to the Fellow, comes a Woman out, What ails you, says she? to the Man, to bully away our Customers so; a poor Boy's Money is good as my Lord-Mayor's; if poor People did not buy old Cloaths, what would become of our Business? and then turning to me, come hither Child, says she, if thou hast a Mind to any Thing I have, you shan't be hector'd by him; the Boy is a pretty Boy, I assure you, says she, to another Woman that was by this Time come to her, ay, says the t'other, so he is, a very well looking Child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a Gentleman's Son

for any Thing we know, as any of those that are well dress'd: Come my Dear, says she, tell me what is it you would have? She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a Gentleman's Son, and it brought former Things to Mind, but when she talk'd of my being not clean, and in Rags, then I cry'd.

SHE pressed me to tell her if I saw any Thing that I wanted, I told her no, all the Cloaths I saw there, were too big for me; come Child, says she, I have two Things here that will fit you, and I'm sure you want them both, that is, first a little Hat, and there, says she, (tossing it to me) I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of Breeches, I dare say, says she, they will fit you, and they are very tite and good; and, says she, if you shou'd ever come to have so much Money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good Pockets, says she, and a little Fob to put your Gold in, or your Watch in, when you get it.

IT struck me with a strange kind of Joy, that I shou'd have a Place to put my Money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow Tree; that I was ready to snatch the Breeches out of her Hands, and wonder'd that I shou'd be such a Fool never to think of buying me a pair of Breeches before, that I might have a Pocket to put my Money in, and not carry it about two Days together in my Hand, and in my Shoe, and I knew not how; so in a Word, I gave her 2 s. for the Breeches, and went over into the Church-yard and put them on, put my Money into my new Pockets, and was as pleas'd as a Prince is with his Coach and six Horses; I thank'd the good Woman too for the Hat, and told her I wou'd come again when I got more Money, and buy some other Things I wanted, and so I came away.

I WAS but a Boy 'tis true, but I thought my self a Man now I had got a Pocket to put my Money in, and I went directly to find out my Companion, by whose Means I got it; but I was frighted out of my Wits when I heard that he was carried to *Bridewell*; I made no Question but it was for the Letter Case, and that I should be carried there too, and then my poor Brother Captain *Jack*'s Case came into my Head, and that I shou'd be whipp'd there as cruelly as he was, and I was in such a Fright, that I knew not what to do.

BUT in the Afternoon I met him, he had been carried to *Bridewell* it seems upon that very Affair, but was got out again: The Case was thus, having had such good Luck at the *Custom-house* the Day before, he takes his Walk thither again, and as he was in the Long-Room, gaping and staring about him, a Fellow lays Hold of him, and calls to one of the Clerks that sat behind, *here*, says he, *is the same young Rogue that I told you I saw loitering about t'other Day, when the Gentleman lost his Letter Case, and his Goldsmith's Bills; I dare say it was he that stole them*; immediately the whole Crowd of People gather'd about the Boy, and charg'd him point Blank; but he was too well us'd to such Things to be frighted into a Confession of what he knew they could not prove, for he had nothing about him belonging to it, nor had any Money, but Six-pence and a few dirty Farthings.

THEY threatened him, and pull'd, and hall'd him, till they almost pull'd the Cloaths off his Back, and the Commissioners examin'd him; but all was one, he would own nothing, but *said, he walk'd up thro' the Room only to see the Place both then, and the time before, for he had own'd he was there before*; so as there was no Proof against him.

of any Fact, no, nor of any Circumstances relating to the Letter Case, they were forc'd at last to let him go; however, they made a show of carrying him to *Bridewell*, and they did carry him to the Gate, to see if they could make him confess any Thing; but he would confess nothing, and they had no *Mittimus*; so they durst not carry him into the House, nor would the People have receiv'd him I suppose, if they had, they having no Warrant for putting him in Prison.

WELL, when they could get nothing out of him they carry'd him into an Alehouse, and there they told him, that the Letter Case had Bills in it of a very great Value, that they would be of no use to the Rogue that had them, but they would be of infinite Damage to the Gentleman, that had lost them, and that he had left word with the Clerk, who the Man that stopp'd this Boy had call'd to, and who was there with him, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that would bring them again, and give all the Security that could be desir'd that he would give them no Trouble, whoever it was.

HE was just come from out of their Hands, when I met with him, and so he told me all the Story; *but says he, I would confess nothing, and so I got off and am come away clear.* Well, *says I, and what will you do with the Letter Case, and the Bills, will not you let the poor Man have his Bills again?* No, not *I, says he*, I won't trust them, what care I for their Bills: It came into my Head, as young as I was, that it was a sad Thing indeed to take a Man's Bills away for so much Money, and not have any Advantage by it neither; for I concluded that the Gentleman, who own'd the Bills must lose all the Money, and it was strange he should keep the Bills, and make a Gentleman lose so much Money for

nothing: I remember that I ruminated very much about it, and tho' I did not understand it very well, yet it lay upon my Mind, and I said every now and then to him, do, let the Gentleman have his Bills again, do, pray do, and so I teiz'd him, with do, and pray do, till at last I cry'd about them; he said, what would you have me be found out and sent to *Bridewell*, and be whipp'd as your Brother Captain *Jack* was, I said no I wou'd not have you whipp'd, but I would have the Man have his Bills, for they will do you no good, but the Gentleman will be undone it may be; and then, I added again, do, let him have them; he snapp'd me short, *Why*, says he, *how shall I get them to him? Who dare carry them? I dare not to be sure, for they will stop me, and bring the Goldsmith to see if he does not know me, and that I received the Money, and so they will prove the Robbery, and I shall be hang'd, would you have me be hang'd Jack?*

I was silenc'd a good while with that, for when he said, would you have me be hang'd *Jack*? I had no more to say; but one Day after this, he call'd to me, Colonel *Jack*, says *he*, I have thought of a way how the Gentleman shall have his Bills again, and you and I shall get a good deal of Money by it, if you will be honest to me, as I was to you; indeed, says *I*, ROBIN, that was his Name, I will be very honest, let me know how it is, for I would fain have him have his Bills.

Why, says he, they told me that he had left word at the Clerk's Place in the Long-Room, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that had the Bills, and would restore them, and would ask no Questions. Now if you will go, like a poor innocent Boy as you are, into the Long-Room, and speak to the Clerk, it may do; tell him, if the Gentleman will do as he promis'd, you believe you can tell him who has it,

and if they are civil to you, and willing to be as good as their Words, you shall have the Letter Case, and give it to them.

I TOLD him aye, I would go with all my Heart; but Colonel *Jack*, says he, what if they should take hold of you, and threaten to have you whipp'd, won't you discover me to them; no says I, if they would whip me to Death I won't; well then, says he, *there's the Letter Case, do you go*; so he gave me Directions how to act, and what to say, but I would not take the Letter Case with me, least they should prove false, and take hold of me, thinking to find it upon me, and so charge me with the Fact; so I left it with him; and the next Morning I went to the Custom-house, as was agreed; what my Directions were, will, to avoid Repetition, appear in what happen'd; it was an Errand of too much Consequence indeed to be entrusted to a Boy, not only so young as I was, but so little of a Rogue as I was yet arriv'd to the Degree of.

Two Things I was particularly arm'd with, which I resolv'd upon. (1.) That the Man should have his Bills again; for it seem'd a horrible Thing to me, that he should be made to lose his Money, which I suppos'd he must, purely because we would not carry the Letter Case home. (2.) That whatever happen'd to me, I was never to tell the Name of my Comrade *Robin*, who had been the Principal: With these two Pieces of Honesty, for such they were both in themselves, and with a manly Heart, tho' a Boy's Head, I went up into the Long-Room in the Custom-house the next Day.

As soon as I came to the Place, where the Thing was done, I saw the Man sit just where he had sat before, and it run in my Head, that he had sat there ever since; but I

knew no better; so I went up and stood just at that Side of the writing Board, that goes up on that Side of the Room, and which I was but just tall enough to lay my Arms upon.

WHILE I stood there, one thrust me this way, and another thrust me that way, and the Man that sat behind began to look at me; at last he call'd out to me; what does that Boy do there, get you gone Sirrah, are you one of the Rogues that stole the Gentleman's Letter Case a *Monday* last? Then he turns his Tale to a Gentleman that was doing Business with him, and goes on thus; here was Mr. — had a very unlucky chance on *Monday* last, did not you hear of it; no, not I, *says the Gentleman*, Why? Standing just there, where you do, *says he*, making his Entries, he pull'd out his Letter Case, and laid it down, as *he says*, but just at his Hand, while he reach'd over to the Standish there for a Penful of Ink, and some Body stole away his Letter Case.

His Letter Case! *says t' other*, What? And was there any Bills in it?

Ay, *says he*, there was Sir *Stephen Evans*'s Note in it for 300*l.* and another Goldsmith's Bill, for about 12*l.* and which is worse still for the Gentleman, he had two Foreign accepted Bills in it for a great Sum, I know not how much, I think one was a *French* Bill for 1200 Crowns.

AND who cou'd it be? *says the Gentleman*.

No Body knows, *says he*, but one of our Room-Keepers *says he* saw a Couple of young Rogues like that, *pointing at me*, hanging about here, and that on a sudden they were both gone.

VILLAINS! *says he*, again, Why? what can they do with them, they will be of no use to them; I suppose he went immediately, and gave notice to prevent the Payment.

YES, *says the Clerk*, he did; but the Rogues were to nimble for him with the little Bill of 12*l.* odd Money, they went and got the Money for that, but all the rest are stopp'd, however, 'tis an unspeakable Damage to him for want of his Money.

WHY, he should publish a Reward for the Encouragement of those that have them to bring them again, they would be glad to bring them I warrant you.

HE has posted it up at the Door, that he will give 30*l.* for them.

AYE, but he should add, that he will promise, not to stop, or give any Trouble to the Person that brings them.

HE has done that too, *says he*, but I fear they won't trust themselves to be Honest, for fear he should break his Word.

WHY? it is true, he may break his Word in that Case, but no Man should do so; for then, no Rogue will venture to bring home any thing that is stolen, and so he would do an Injury to others after him.

I DURST pawn my Life for him, he would scorn it.

THUS far they discours'd of it, and then went off to something else; I heard it all, but did not know what to do a great while; but at last, watching the Gentleman that went away, when he was gone, I run after him, to have spoken to him, intending to have broke it to him, but he went hastily into a Room or Two, full of People, at the hither End of the Long-Room, and when I went to follow, the Door-keepers turn'd me Back, and told me I must not go in there; so I went Back, and loiter'd about, near the Man that sat behind the Board, and hung about there, 'till I found the Clock struck Twelve, and the Room began to be thin of People; and at last he sat there Writing, but no Body stood at the Board before him, as there had all the

rest of the Morning, then I came a little nearer, and stood close to the Board, as I did before, when looking up from his Paper, and seeing me, *says he to me*, you have been up and down there all this Morning Sirrah, What do you want? You have some Business that is not very good, I doubt?

No, I han't, *said I*.

No, 'tis well if you han't, *says he*, Pray what Business can you have, in the Long-Room, Sir, you are no Merchant?

I WOULD speak with you, *said I*.

WITH me, *says he*, What have you to say to me?

I HAVE something to say, *said I*, if you will do me no Harm for it.

I do thee Harm, Child, What Harm should I do thee? and spoke very kindly.

Won't you indeed, Sir, *said I*.

No, not I Child! I'll do thee no Harm; what is it? do you know any Thing of the Gentleman's Letter Case.

I ANSWER'D, but spoke softly, that he could not hear me, so he gets over presently into the Seat next him, and opens a Place that was made to come out, and bad me come in to him; and I did.

THEN he ask'd me again, if I knew any thing of the Letter-Case.

I SPOKE softly again, and said, Folks would hear him.

THEN he whisper'd softly, and ask'd me again.

I TOLD him, I believ'd I did; but that, indeed, I had it not, nor had no Hand in stealing it, but it was gotten into the Hands of a Boy, that would have burnt it, if it had not been for me; and that I heard him say, that the Gentleman would be glad to have them again, and give a good deal of Money for them.

I DID say so Child, *said he*, and if you can get them for him, he shall give you a good Reward, no less than 30*l.* as he has promis'd.

BUT you said too Sir, to the Gentleman, just now, *said I*, that you was sure he would not bring them into any Harm that should bring them.

No, you shall come to no Harm; I will pass my Word for it.

Boy. NOR shan't they make me bring other People into trouble?

Gent. No, you shall not be ask'd the Name of any Body, nor to tell who they are.

Boy. I AM but a poor Boy, and I would fain have the Gentleman have his Bills, and indeed, I did not take them away, nor I han't got them.

Gent. BUT can you tell how the Gentleman shall have them?

Boy. If I can get them, I will bring them to you, to-morrow Morning.

Gent. CAN you not do it to Night?

Boy. I BELIEVE I may, if I knew where to come.

Gent. COME to my House, Child.

Boy. I DON'T know where you live.

Gent. Go along with me now, and you shall see.

So he carry'd me up into *Tower-street*, and show'd me his House, and order'd me to come there at five o'Clock at Night, which accordingly I did, and carry'd the Letter-Case with me.

WHEN I came, the Gentleman ask'd me if I had brought the Book, *as he call'd it*.

It is not a Book, *said I*.

No, the Letter-Case, that's all one, *says he*.

You promis'd me, *said I*, you would not hurt me, *and cry'd.*

DON'T be afraid Child, *says he*, I will not hurt thee, *poor Boy!* no Body shall hurt thee.

HERE it is, *said I*, and pull'd it out.

HE then brought in another Gentleman, who it seems own'd the Letter-Case, *and ask'd him*, if that was it? *and he said*, Yes.

THEN, *ask'd me*, if all the Bills were in it.

I told him, I heard him say, there was one gone, but I believed there was all the rest.

WHY do you believe so? *says he.*

BECAUSE, I heard the Boy, that I believe stole them, say, they were too big for him to meddle with.

THE Gentleman then that own'd them, said, Where is the Boy?

THEN the other Gentleman put in, *and said*, no, you must not ask him that, I pass'd my Word, that you should not, and that he should not be oblig'd to tell it to any Body.

WELL Child, *says he*, you will let us see, the Letter-Case open'd, and whether the Bills are in it?

YES, *says I.*

THEN the first Gentleman said, how many Bills were there in it?

ONLY three, *says he*, besides the Bill of 12*l.* 10*s.* there was Sir Stephen Evans's Note for 300*l.* and two Foreign Bills.

WELL then, if they are in the Letter-Case, the Boy shall have 30*l.* shall he not? Yes, *says the Gentleman*, he shall have it freely.

COME then, Child, *says he*, let me open it.

So I gave it him, and he open'd it, and there were all

the three Bills, and several other Papers, fair and safe, nothing defac'd, or diminish'd, and the Gentleman said all was right.

THEN said the first Man, then I am Security to the poor Boy for the Money; well, but, *says the Gentleman*, the Rogues have got the 12*l.* 10*s.* they ought to reckon that, as Part of the 30*l.* had he ask'd me, I should have consented to it at first Word: But the first Man stood my Friend. Nay, *says he*, it was since you knew that the 12*l.* 10*s.* was receiv'd, that you offer'd 30*l.* for the other Bills, and publish'd it by the Cryer, and posted it up at the *Custom-house* Door, and I promis'd him the 30*l.* this Morning; they argu'd long, and I thought would have quarrell'd about it.

HOWEVER, at last they both yielded a little, and the Gentleman gave me 25*l.* in good Guineas; when he gave it me, he bad me hold out my Hand, and he told the Money into my Hand, and when he had done, he ask'd me if it was right, I said I did not know, but I believ'd it was: Why, *says he*, can't you tell it? I told him no, I never saw so much Money in my Life, nor I did not know how to tell Money: Why, *says he*, Don't you know that they are Guineas; no, *I told him*, I did not know how much a Guinea was.

WHY, how then, *says he*, did you tell me you believ'd it was right? I *told him*, because, I believ'd he would not give it me wrong.

Poor Child! *says he*, Thou knowest little of the World, indeed; what art thou?

I AM a poor Boy, *says I*, and cry'd.

WHAT is your Name, *says he*, but hold, I forgot, *said he*, I promised, I would not ask your Name, so you need not tell me.

My Name is *Jack*, said *I*.

WHY, have you no Sir-name? *Said he*.

WHAT is that? *Said I*.

You have some other Name, besides *Jack*, *says he*, han't you?

YES, *says I*, They call me *Col. Jack*.

But have you no other Name?

No, *said I*.

How come you to be call'd, *Col. Jack*, pray.

THEY say, *said I*, my Father's Name was *Col.*

Is your Father or Mother alive? *said he*.

No, *said I*, my Father is dead.

WHERE is your Mother then, *said he*.

I NEVER had e'er a Mother, *said I*.

THIS made him laugh; what, *said he*, had you ne'er a Mother, what then?

I HAD a Nurse, *said I*, but she was not my Mother.

WELL, *says he* to the Gentleman, I dare say, this Boy was not the Thief that stole your Bills.

INDEED, Sir, I did not steal them, *said I*, and cry'd again.

No, no, Child, *said he*, we don't believe you did.

THIS is a clever Boy, *says he*, to the other Gentleman, and yet very Ignorant and Honest, 'tis pity some Care should not be taken of him, and something done for him; let us Talk a little more with him; so they sat down and drank Wine, and gave me some, and then the first Gentleman talk'd to me again.

WELL, *says he*, What wilt thou do with this Money now thou hast it?

I DON'T know, *said I*.

WHERE will you put it? *said he*.

IN my Pocket, *said I*.

IN your Pocket, *said he*, is your Pocket whole? shan't you lose it?

YES, *said I*, my Pocket is whole.

AND where will you put it, when you come Home?

I HAVE no Home, *said I*, and cry'd again.

Poor Child! *said he* then, What doest thou do for thy Living?

I go of Errands, *said I*, for the folks in Rosemary-lane.

AND what dost thou do for a Lodging at Night?

I LIE at the Glass-house, *said I*, at Night.

How lie at the Glass-house! have they any Beds there? *says he*.

I never lay in a Bed in my Life, *said I*, as I remember.

WHY, *says he*, what do you lie on at the Glass-house?

THE Ground, *says I*, and sometimes a little Straw, or upon the warm Ashes.

HERE the Gentleman that lost the Bills, *said*, this poor Child is enough to make a Man weep for the Miseries of human Nature, and be thankful for himself, he puts Tears into my Eyes; and into mine too, *says the other*.

WELL, but hark ye JACK? *says the first Gentleman*, do they give you no Money when they send you of Errands?

THEY give me Victuals, *said I*, and that's better.

But what, *says he*, do you do for Cloaths?

THEY give me sometimes old Things, *said I*, such as they have to spare.

WHY, you have ne'er a shirt on I believe, *said he*, have you?

No, I never had a Shirt, *said I*, since my Nurse died.

How long ago is that? *said he*.

Six Winters, when this is out, *said I*.

WHY, how old are you? *said he*.

I can't tell, said I.

WELL, says the Gentleman, now you have this Money won't you buy some Cloaths, and a Shirt with some of it.

Yes, said I, I would buy some Cloaths.

AND, what will you do with the rest?

I can't tell, said I, and cry'd.

WHAT doest cry for Jack, said he.

I am afraid, said I, and cryed still.

WHAT art afraid of.

THEY will know I have Money.

WELL, and what then.

THEN I must sleep no more in the warm Glass-house, and I shall be starv'd with Cold.

THEY will take away my Money.

BUT why must you sleep there no more?

HERE the Gentlemen observ'd to one another, how naturally Anxiety and Perplexity attends those that have Money; I warrant you, says the Clerk, when this poor Boy had no Money, he slept all Night in the Straw, or on the warm Ashes in the Glass-house, as soundly and as void of Care as it wou'd be possible for any Creature to do; but now as soon as he has gotten Money, the Care of preserving it brings Tears into his Eyes, and Fear into his Heart.

THEY ask'd me a great many Questions more; to which I answer'd in my childish Way as well as I cou'd, but so as pleas'd them well enough; at last I was going away with a heavy Pocket, and I assure you not a light Heart, for I was so frighted with having so much Money, that I knew not what in the Earth to do with my self: I went away however, and walk'd a little Way, but I cou'd not tell what to do; so after rambling two Hours or thereabout, I went back again, and sat down at the Gentleman's Door, and there I

cry'd as long as I had any Moisture in my Head to make Tears of, but never knocked at the Door.

I HAD not sate long, I suppose, but somebody belonging to the Family got Knowledge of it, and a Maid came and talk'd to me, but I said little to her, only cry'd still, at length it came to the Gentleman's Ears; as for the Merchant he was gone; when the Gentleman heard of me, he call'd me in, and began to talk with me again, and ask'd me what I staid for.

I TOLD him I had not staid there all that while, for I had been gone a great while, and was come again.

WELL, says he, but what did you come again for?

I CAN'T tell, says I.

AND what do you cry so for, said he, I hope you have not lost your Money, have you?

No, I told him I had not lost it yet, but I was afraid I should.

AND does that make you cry, says he.

I TOLD him yes, for I knew I should not be able to keep it, but they would cheat me of it, or they would kill me, and take it away from me too.

THEY, says he, who? What sort of Gangs of People art thou with?

I TOLD him they were all Boys, but very wicked Boys, Thieves and Pick-pockets, said I, such as stole this Letter-Case, a sad Pack, I can't abide them.

WELL *Jack*, said he, what shall be done for thee? Will you leave it with me, shall I keep it for you?

YES, said I, with all my Heart, if you please.

COME then, says he, give it me, and that you may be sure I have it, and you shall have it honestly again, I'll give you a Bill for it, and for the interest of it, and that you may

keep safe enough; nay, added he, and if you lose it, or any Body takes it from you, none shall receive the Money but your self, or any part of it.

I presently pull'd out all the Money, and gave it to him, only keeping about 15s. for my self to buy some Cloaths, and thus ended the Conference between us on the first Occasion, at least for the first Time: Having thus secur'd my Money to my full Satisfaction, I was then perfectly easy, and accordingly the sad Thoughts that afflicted my Mind before, began to vanish away.

THIS was enough to let any one see how all the Sorrow's and Anxieties of Men's Lives come about, how they rise from their restless pushing at getting of Money, and the restless Cares of keeping it when they have got it. I that had nothing, and had not known what it was to have had any Thing, knew nothing of the Care, either of getting, or of keeping; I wanted nothing, who wanted every Thing; I had no Care, no Concern about where I should get my Victuals, or how I shou'd lodge, I knew not what Money was, or what to do with it; and never knew what it was not to sleep, till I had Money to keep, and was afraid of losing it.

I HAD without Doubt an Opportunity at this Time, if I had not been too foolish, and too much a Child to speak for my self; I had an Opportunity, I say, to have got into the Service, or perhaps to be under some of the Care and Concern of these Gentlemen, for they seem'd to be very fond of doing something for me, and were surpriz'd at the Innocence of my Talk to them, as well as at the Misery (as they thought it) of my Condition.

BUT I acted indeed like a Child, and leaving my Money, as I have said, I never went near them for several Years

after; what Course I took, and what befel me in that Interval, has so much variety in it, and carries so much Instruction in it, that it requires an Account of it by it self.

THE first happy Chance that offer'd it self to me in the World was now over; I had got Money, but I neither knew the Value of it, or the Use of it; the Way of living I had begun was so natural to me, I had no Notion of bettering it; I had not so much as any Desire of buying me any Cloaths, no, not so much as a Shirt, and much less had I any Thought of getting any other Lodging than that in the Glass-house, and loit'ring about the Streets as I had done: For I knew no Good, and had tasted no Evil; that is to say, the Life I had led, being not Evil in my Account.

IN this State of Innocence, I return'd to my really miserable Life, so it was in it self, and was only not so to me, because I did not understand how to judge of it, and had known no better.

My Comrade that gave me back the Bills, and who, if I had not pressed him, design'd never to have restor'd them, never ask'd me what I had given me, but told me, if they gave me any Thing it should be my own; for as he said, he would not run the Venture of being seen in the restoring them, I deserv'd the Reward if there was any; neither did he trouble his Head with enquiring what I had, or whether I had any Thing or no; so my Title to what I had got was clear.

I WENT now up and down just as I did before, I had Money indeed in my Pocket, but I let no Body know it; I went of Errands chearfully as before, and accepted of what any Body gave me, with as much Thankfulness as ever; the only Difference that I made with my self was, that if I was a hungry, and no Body employ'd me, or gave me any

Thing to eat, I did not beg from Door to Door, as I did at first, but went to a boyling House, *as I said once before*, and got a Mess of Broth and a piece of Bread, Price a Half-penny; very seldom any Meat; or if I treated my self, it was a Half-penny worth of Cheese; all which Expence did not amount to above 2 d. or 3 d. a Week; for contrary to the Usage of the rest of the Tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not dispos'd of any of the Guineas which I had at first; neither, *as I said*, to the *Custom-house* Gentleman, could I tell what a Guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

AFTER I had been about a Month thus, and had done nothing, my Comrade, *as I call'd him*, came to me one Morning, Colonel *Jack*, says he, when shall you and I take a Walk again? When you will, said I: Have you got no Business yet? says he, no, says I, and so one Thing bringing in another, he told me I was a fortunate Wretch, and he believed I would be so again; but that he must make a new Bargain with me now, for says he Colonel, the first Time we always let a raw Brother come in for full Share to encourage him, but afterward, except it be when he puts himself forward well, and runs equal Hazard, he stands to Courtesie; but as we are Gentlemen, we always do very honourable by one another; and if you are willing to trust it, or leave it to me, I shall do handsomely by you, that you may depend upon. I told him, I was not able to do any Thing that was certain, for I did not understand it, and therefore I cou'd not expect to get any Thing, but I wou'd do as he bad me, so we walk'd Abroad together.

WE went no more to the *Custom-house*, it was too bold a Venture; besides, I did not care to shew my self again, especially with him in Company; but we went directly to the

Exchange, and we hanker'd about in *Castle-Alley*, and in *Swithin's-Alley*, and at the Coffee-house Doors. 'Twas a very unlucky Day, for we got nothing all Day but 2 or 3 Handkerchiefs, and came Home to the old Lodging at the *Glass-house*; nor had I any Thing to eat or drink all Day, but a piece of Bread which he gave me, and some water at the Conduit at the *Exchange-Gate*: So when he was gone from me, for he did not lye in the *Glass-house* as I did, I went to my old Broth House for my usual Bait, and refresh'd my self, and the next Day early went to meet him again, as he appointed me.

BEING early in the Morning, he took his Walk to *Billingsgate*, where it seems two sorts of People make a great Crowd as soon as it is light; and at that Time a Year, rather before Day light, that is to say, *Crimps*, and the Masters of Coul Ships, who they call *Collier Masters*; and Secondly, *Fishmongers*, Fish-sellers, and Buyers of Fish.

It was the first of these People that he had his Eye upon: So he gives me my Orders, which was thus; go you, says he, into all the Ale-houses as we go along, and observe where any People are telling of Money, and when you find any, come and tell me; so he stood at the Door, and I went into the Houses: As the *Collier Masters* generally sell their Coals at the Gate, as they call it, so they generally receive their Money in those Ale-houses, and it was not long before I brought him Word of several; upon this he went in, and made his Observations, but found nothing to his Purpose; at length I brought him Word, that there was a Man in such a House who had receiv'd a great deal of Money of some Body, I believ'd of several People, and that it lay all upon the Table in Heaps, and he was very busy writing down the Sums, and putting it up in several

Bags; is he? says he, I'll warrant him I will have some of it, and in he goes, he walks up and down the House, which had several open Tables and Boxes in it, and listen'd to hear if he cou'd what the Man's Name was, and he heard some Body call him *Cullum*, or some such Name; then he watches his Opportunity, and steps up to him, and tells him a long Story, that there was two Gentlemen at the *Gun-Tavern* sent him to enquire for him, and to tell him they desired to speak with him.

THE *Collier Master* had his Money lay before him, just as I had told him, and had two or three small Payments of Money, which he had put up in little black dirty Bags, and lay by themselves; and as it was hardly broad Day, he found Means in delivering his Message to lay his Hand upon one of those Bags, and carry it off perfectly undiscover'd.

WHEN he had got it, he came out to me, who stood but at the Door, and pulling me by the Sleeve, run *Jack*, says he, for our Lives, and away he scours, and I after him, never resting, or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into *Fenchurch-street*, thro' *Lime-street*, into *Leaden-hall-street*, down *St. Mary-Axe*, to *London-Wall*, then thro' *Bishopsgate*, and down old *Bedlam* into *Moorfields*. By this Time we were neither of us able to run very fast, nor need we have gone so far, for I never found that any Body pursued us: When we got into *Moorfields*, and began to take Breath, I ask'd him what it was frighted him so? *Fright me, you Fool, I have got a devilish great Bag of Money?* A Bag! said I, ay, ay, said he, let us get out into the Fields where no Body can see us, and I'll shew it you; so away he had me thro' *Long-Alley*, and cross *Hog-Lane*, and *Holloway-Lane*, into the middle of the great Field, which since

that, has been call'd the *Farthing Pye-house Fields*: There we wou'd have sat down, but it was all full of Water; so we went on, cross'd the Road at *Anniseed Cleer*, and went into the Field where now the great Hospital stands; and finding a by Place, we sat down, and he pulls out the Bag. Thou art a lucky Boy, *Jack*, says he, thou deservedst a good Share of this Job truly, for 'tis all along of thy lucky News, so he pours it all out into my Hat, for, as I told you, I now wore a Hat.

How he did to whip away such a Bag of Money from any Man that was awake and in his Senses, I cannot tell; but there was a great deal in it, and among it a Paper full by it self: When the Paper dropt out of the Bag, hold, says he, that's Gold? and began to crow and hollow like a mad Boy, but there he was baulk'd, for it was a Paper of old Thirteen-pence half-penny Pieces, half and quarter Pieces, with Nine Pences, and Four-pence half-penny's, all old crooked Money, *Scots* and *Irish* Coin, so he was disappointed in that; but as it was, there was about 17 or 18*l.* in the Bag as I understood by him, for I cou'd not tell Money not I.

WELL, he parted this Money into three, that is to say, into three Shares, two for himself, and one for me, and ask'd if I was content, I told him yes, I had Reason to be contented; besides, it was so much Money added to that I had left of his former Adventure, that I knew not what to do with it, or with my self, while I had so much about me.

THIS was a most exquisite Fellow for a Thief, for he had the greatest Dexterity at conveying any Thing away, that he scarce ever pitch'd upon any Thing in his Eye, but he carried it off with his Hands, and never that I know of miss'd his Aim, or was caught in the Fact.

HE was an eminent Pick-pocket, and very dextrous at the Ladies Gold Watches; but he generally push'd higher at such desperate Things as those, and he came off the cleanest, and with the greatest Success imaginable; and it was in these kinds of the wicked Art of Thieving that I became his Scholar.

As we were now so rich, he would not let me lie any longer in the *Glass-house*, or go naked and ragged, as I had done; but oblig'd me to buy two Shirts, a Waistcoat, and a Great Coat, for a Great Coat was more for our purpose in the Business we was upon than any other: So I cloath'd my self as he directed, and he took me a Lodging in the same House with him, and we lodg'd together in a little Garret fit for our Quality.

SOON after this, we walk'd out again, and then we tried our Fortune in the Places by the *Exchange* a second Time. Here we began to act separately, and I undertook to walk by my self, and the first thing I did accurately, was a Trick I play'd that requir'd some Skill for a new Beginner, for I had never seen any business of that Kind done before: I saw two Gentlemen mighty eager in Talk, and one pull'd out a Pocket-book two or three Times, and then slipt it into his Coat Pocket again, and then out it came again, and Papers were taken out, and others put in; and then in it went again, and so several Times, the Man being still warmly engag'd with another Man, and two or three others standing hard by them; the last Time he put his Pocket-book into his Pocket, he might have said to throw it in, rather than put it in with his Hand, and the Book lay End way, resting upon some other Book, or something else in his Pocket; so that it did not go quite down, but one Corner of it was seen above his Pocket.

THIS careless Way of Men putting their Pocket-books into a Coat Pocket, which is so easily div'd into by the least Boy that has been us'd to the Trade, can never be too much blam'd; the Gentlemen are in great Hurries, their Heads and Thoughts entirely taken up, and it is impossible they should be guarded enough against such little Hawksey'd Creatures as we were; and therefore, they ought either never to put their Pocket-books up at all, or to put them up more secure, or to put nothing of Value into them: I happen'd to be just opposite to this Gentleman in that they call *Swithin's-Alley*; or that Alley rather which is between *Swithin's-Alley* and the *Exchange*, just by a Passage that goes out of the Alley into the *Exchange*: When seeing the Book pass and repass into the Pocket, and out of the Pocket as above, it came immediately into my Head, certainly I might get that Pocket-book out if I were nimble, and I warrant *Will* would have it, if he saw it go and come to and again as I did; but when I saw it hang by the Way, as I have said, now 'tis mine, said I to my self, and crossing the Alley, I brush'd smoothly, but closely by the Man, with my Hand down flat to my own Side, and taking hold of it by the Corner that appeared, the Book came so light into my Hand, it was impossible the Gentleman should feel the least Motion, or any Body else see me take it away. I went directly forward into the broad Place on the North Side or the *Exchange*, then scoured down *Bartholomew-Lane*, so into *Tokenhouse-yard*, into the Alleys which pass through from thence to *London-Wall*, so through *Moor-Gate*, and sat down in the Grass in the second of the Quarters of *Moorfields*, towards the middle Field; which was the Place that *Will* and I had appointed to meet at, if either of us got any Booty: When I

came thither, *Will* was not come, but I saw him a coming in about half an Hour.

As soon as *Will* came to me, I ask'd him what Booty he had gotten, he look'd pale, and as I thought frighted; but he return'd, I have got nothing not I, but you lucky young Dog, says he, what have you got? Have not you got the Gentleman's Pocket-book in *Switbin's-Alley*? yes, says I, and laughed at him; why, how did you know it: Know it! says he, why, the Gentleman is raving and half distracted, he stamps and cries, and tears his very Cloaths, he says he is utterly undone and ruined, and the Folks in the Alley say, there is I know not how many Thousand Pounds in it; what can be in it, says *Will*, come let us see.

WELL, we lay close in the Grass in the middle of the Quarter; so that no Body minded us, and so we opened the Pocket-book, and there was a great many Bills and Notes under Men's Hands; some *Gold-smiths*, and some belonging to *Insurance Offices*, as they call them, and the like: But that which was it seems, worth all the rest, was that in one of the Folds of the Cover of the Book, where there was a Case with several Partitions; there was a Paper full of loose Diamonds: The Man as we understood afterward, was a *Jew*, who dealt in such Goods, and who indeed ought to have taken more Care of the keeping of them.

Now was this Booty too great, even for *Will* himself to manage; for tho' by this Time I was come to understand Things better than I did formerly, when I knew not what belong'd to Money; yet *Will* was better skill'd by far in those Things than I. But this puzzled him too as well as me: Now were we something like the Cock in the Fable, for all these Bills, and I think there was one Bill of Sir

Henry Furnese's for 1200*l.* and all these Diamonds, which were worth about 150*l.* as they said, I say, all these Things were of no Value to us, one little Purse of Gold would have been better to us than all of it: But come, says *Will*, let us look over the Bills for a little one.

We look'd over all the Bills, and among them we found a Bill under a Man's Hand for 32*l.* Come says *Will*, let us go and enquire where this Man lives: So we went into the City again, and *Will* went to the *Post-house* and asked there, they told him he liv'd at *Temple-Bar*; well, says *Will*, I will venture, I'll go and receive the Money, it may be he has not remember'd to send to stop the Payment there.

But it came into his Thoughts to take another Course, come says *Will*, I'll go back to the Alley, and see if I can hear any Thing of what has happened, for I believe the Hurry is not over yet, it seems the Man who lost the Book was carried into the *King's-Head Tavern* at the End of that Alley, and a great Crowd was about the Door.

Away goes *Will*, and watches and waits about the Place, and then seeing several People together, for they were not all dispersed, he asks one or two what was the Matter, they tell him a long Story of a Gentleman who had lost his Pocket-book, with a great Bag of Diamonds in it, and Bills for a great many Thousand Pounds, and I know not what; and that they had been just crying it, and had offered 100*l.* Reward to any one that would discover and restore it.

I wish, said he, to one of them that parl'd with him, I did but know who has it, I don't doubt but I could help him to it again; does he remember nothing of any Body, Boy, or Fellow, that was near him, if he could but describe him it might do; some Body that overheard him was so

forward to assist the poor Gentleman, that they went up and let him know what a young Fellow, meaning *Will*, had been talking at the Door, and down comes another Gentleman from him, and taking *Will* aside, *asked him what he had said about it?* *Will* was a grave sort of a young Man, that tho' he was an old Soldier at the Trade, had yet nothing of it in his Countenance, and he answered, that he was concerned in Business where a great many of the Gangs of little Pick-pockets haunted, and if he had but the least Description of the Person they suspected, he durst say, he could find him out, and might perhaps get the Things again for him: Upon this, he desired him to go up with him to the Gentleman, which he did accordingly; and there he said he sat leaning his Head back in a Chair, pale as a Cloth; disconsolate to a strange Degree, and as *Will* describ'd him, just like one under a Sentence.

WHEN they came to ask him whether he had seen no Boy, or shabby Fellow lurking near where he stood, or passing, or repassing, and the like, he answer'd, no, not any; neither could he remember that any Body had come near him; then said *Will*, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to find them out: However, said *Will*, if you think it worth while, I will put my self among those Rogues, tho' says he, I care not for being seen among them, but I will put in among them, and if it be in any of those Gangs, it is ten to one but I shall hear something of it.

THEY ask'd him then, if he had heard what Terms the Gentleman had offered to have it restor'd; he answered no, (tho' he had been told at the Door) they answered he had offer'd a 100*l.* that is too much, says *Will*, but if you please to leave it to me, I shall either get it for you for less than that, or not be able to get it for you at all: Then the

losing Gentleman said to one of the other, tell him, that if he can get it lower, the Over-plus shall be to himself; *William* said, he would be very glad to do the Gentleman such a Service, and would leave the Reward to himself. Well, young Man, says one of the Gentlemen, what ever you appoint to the young Artist that has done this Roguery, for I warrant he is an Artist, let it be who it will he shall be paid, if it be within the 100*l.* and the Gentleman is willing to give you 50*l.* besides for your Pains.

TRULY Sir, says *Will*, very gravely, it was by meer Chance, that coming by the Door, and seeing the Crowd, I ask'd what the Matter was; but if I should be instrumental to get the unfortunate Gentleman his Pocket Book, and the Things in it again, I shall be very glad; nor am I so rich neither Sir, but 50*l.* is very well worth my while too: Then he took Directions who to come to, and where, and who to give his Account to, if he learnt any Thing, and the like.

WILL staid so long, that as he and I agreed, I went Home, and he did not come to me till Night; for we had consider'd before, that it would not be proper to come from them directly to me, least they should follow him and apprehend me; if he had made no Advances towards a Treaty, he would have come back in half an Hour, as we agreed; but staying late, we met at our Night Rendezvous, which was in *Rosemary-Lane*.

WHEN he came, he gave an Account of all the Discourse, and particularly what a Consternation the Gentleman was in who lost the Pocket Book, and that he did not doubt, but we should get a good round Sum for the Recovery of it.

WE consulted all the Evening about it, and concluded

he should let them hear nothing of them the next Day at all; and that the third Day he should go, but should make no Discovery, only that he had got a Scent of it, and that he believ'd he should have it, and make it appear as difficult as possible, and to start as many Objections as he could; accordingly, the third Day after he met with the Gentleman, whom he found had been uneasy at his long Stay, and told him, they was afraid that he only flatter'd them to get from them; and that they had been too easie in letting him go without a farther Examination.

HE took upon him to be very grave with them, and told them, that if that was what he was like to have for being so free, as to tell them he thought he might serve them, they might see that they had wrong'd him, and were mistaken by his coming again to them; that if they thought they cou'd do any Thing by examining him, they might go about it if they pleased now, that all he had to say to them was, that he knew where some of the young Rogues haunted who were famous for such Things; and that by some Inquiries, offering them Money and the like, he believ'd they would be brought to betray one another, and that so he might pick it out for them, and this he would say before a Justice of Peace if they thought fit, and then all that he had to say farther to them, was to tell them, he had lost a Day or two in their Service; and had got nothing but to be suspected for his Pains, and that after that, he had done, and they might seek their Goods where they could find them.

THEY began to listen a little upon that, and ask'd him if he could give them any Hopes of recovering their Loss, he told them, that he was not afraid to tell them, that he believ'd he had heard some News of them, and that what

he had done, had prevented all the Bills being burnt Book and all; but that now he ought not to be ask'd any more Questions till they should be pleas'd to answer him a Question or two: They told him they would give him any Satisfaction they could, and bid him tell what he desir'd.

WHY, Sir, says he, how can you expect any Thief that had robb'd you to such a considerable Value as this, wou'd come and put himself into your Hands, confess he had your Goods, and restore them to you; if you do not give them Assurance, that you will not only give them the Reward you agreed to, but also give Assurance that they shall not be stop'd, question'd, or call'd to Account before a Magistrate.

THEY said they would give all possible Assurance of it; nay, says he, I do not know what Assurance you are able to give; for when a poor Fellow is in your Clutches, and has shown you your Goods, you may seize upon him for a Thief, and it is plain he must be so; then you go take away your Goods, send him to Prison, and what Amends can he have of you afterward?

THEY were entirely confounded with the Difficulty, they ask'd him to try if he could get the Things into his Hands, and they would pay him the Money before he let them go out of his Hand, and he should go away half an Hour before they went out of the Room.

No Gentlemen, says he, that won't do now; if you had talk'd so before, you had talk'd of apprehending me for nothing, I should have taken your Words; but now it is plain you have had such a Thought in your Heads, and how can I, or any one else be assur'd of Safety.

WELL, they thought of a great many Particulars, but nothing would do; at length the other People who were

present put in, that they should give Security to him, by a Bond of 1000*l.* that they would not give the Person any Trouble whatsoever: He pretended they could not be bound, nor could their Obligation be of any Value, and that their own Goods being once seen, they might seize them; and what would it signify, said he, to put a poor Pick-pocket to sue for his Reward: They could not tell what to say, but told him, that he should take the Things of the Boy, if it was a Boy; and they would be bound to pay him the Money promis'd. He laugh'd at them, and said, no Gentlemen, as I am not the Thief; so I shall be very loth to put my self in the Thief's stead, and lie at your Mercy.

THEY told him they knew not what to do then; and that it would be very hard he would not trust them at all; he said, he was very willing to trust them, and to serve them; but that it would be very hard to be ruin'd and charg'd with the Theft, for endeavouring to serve them.

THEY then offer'd to give it him under their Hands, that they did not in the least suspect him; that they would never charge him with any Thing about it; that they acknowledg'd he went about to enquire after the Goods at their Request; and that if he produced them, they would pay him so much Money, at, or before the Delivery of them, without obliging him to Name or produce that Person he had them from.

UPON this Writing sign'd by three Gentlemen who were present, and by the Person in particular who lost the Things; the young Gentleman told them, he would go and do his utmost to get the Pocket Book, and all that was in it.

THEN he desir'd that they would in Writing before

Hand, give him a Particular of all the several Things that were in the Book; that he might not have it said when he produc'd it, that there was not all; and he would have the said Writing seal'd up, and he would make the Book be seal'd up when it was given to him: This they agreed to, and the Gentlemen accordingly drew up a Particular of all the Bills that he remember'd, as he said, was in the Book; and also of the Diamonds, as follows:

One Bill under Sir <i>Henry Furness's</i> Hand, for	}	1200 <i>l.</i>
One Bill under Sir <i>Charles Duncumb's</i> Hand for 800 <i>l.</i> 250 <i>l.</i> Endorss'd off.		550
One Bill under the Hand of <i>J. Tassell</i> , Goldsmith	}	165
One Bill of Sir <i>Francis Child</i> ,		39
One Bill of one <i>Stewart</i> that kept a <i>Wager-Office and Insurance</i> .	}	350
A Paper containing 37 loose Diamonds, value about 250 <i>l.</i>		
A little Paper containing 3 large rough Diamonds and one large one polish'd, and cut, value 185 <i>l.</i>		

FOR all these Things they promised first to give me whatever he agreed with the Thief to give him, not exceeding 50*l.* and to give him 50*l.* more for himself for procuring them.

Now he had his Cue, and now he came to me, and told me honestly the whole Story as above; so I deliver'd him the Book, and he told me that he thought it was reasonable we should take the full Sum; because he would seem to have done them some Service, and so make them the

easier; all this I agreed too, so he went the next Day to the Place, and the Gentlemen met him very punctually.

HE told them at first Word, he had done their Work, and as he hoped to their Mind; and told them, if it had not been for the Diamonds, he could have got it all for 10*l.* but that the Diamonds had shone so bright in the Boy's Imagination, that he talk'd of running away to *France* or *Holland*, and living there all his Days like a Gentleman; at which they laugh'd: However Gentlemen, said he, here is the Book, and so pull'd it out wrapt up in a dirty Piece of a colour'd Handkerchief, as black as the Street could make it; and seal'd with a Piece of sorry Wax, and the Impression of a Farthing for a Seal.

UPON this, the Note being also unseal'd; at the same Time he pull'd open the dirty Rag, and shew'd the Gentleman his Pocket Book, at which he was so over surpriz'd with Joy; notwithstanding all the preparatory Discourse that he was fain to call for a Glass of Wine or Brandy, to drink to keep him from fainting.

THE Book being open'd, the Paper of Diamonds was first taken out, and there they were every one, only the little Paper was by it self; and the rough Diamonds that were in it, were loose among the rest; but he own'd they were all there safe.

THEN the Bills were call'd over one by one, and they found one Bill for 80*l.* more than the Account mention'd; besides several Papers which were not for Money, tho' of Consequence to the Gentleman, and he acknowledg'd that all was very honestly returned, and now young Man, said they, you shall see we will deal as honestly by you; and so in the first Place, they gave him 50*l.* for himself, and then they told out the 50*l.* for me.

HE took the 50*l.* for himself, and put it up in his Poc-
ket, wrapping it in Paper, it being all in Gold: Then he
began to tell over the other 50*l.* but when he had told out
30*l.* hold Gentlemen, said he, as I have acted fairly for
you, so you shall have no Reason to say, I do not do so to
the End; I have taken 30*l.* and for so much I agreed with
the Boy, and so there is 20*l.* of your Money again.

They stood looking one at another a good while, as surpriz'd at the Honesty of it, for till that Time they were not quite without a secret Suspicion that he was the Thief, but that Piece of Policy cleared up his Reputation to them: The Gentleman that had got his Bills, said softly to one of them, give it him all, but the other said (softly too) no, no, as long as he has got it abated, and is satisfied with the 50*l.* you have given him, 'tis very well, let it go as it is; this was not spoke so softly but I heard it, and I said No too, I am very well satisfied, I am glad I have got them for you, and so they began to part.

But just before they were going away, one of the Gen-
tlemen said to him, young Man come, you see we are just
to you, and have done fairly, as you have also, and we will
not desire you to tell us who this cunning Fellow is that
got such a Prize from this Gentleman; but as you have
talk'd with him, prythee can you tell us nothing of how he
did it, that we may beware of such Sparks again.

Sir, says *Will*, when I shall tell you what they say, and
how the particular Case stood, the Gentleman would blame
himself more than any Body else, or as much at least: The
young Rogue that catch'd this Prize, was out it seems
with a Comrade, who is a nimble experienc'd Pick-pocket
as most in *London*, but at that Time the Artist was some
where at a Distance, and this Boy never had pick'd a Poc-

ket in his Life before; but he says, he stood over against the Passage into the *Exchange*, on the *East* Side, and the Gentleman stood just by the Passage, that he was very earnest in talking with some other Gentleman, and often pull'd out this Book and open'd it, and took Papers out, and put others in, and returned it into his Coat Pocket; that the last Time it hitch'd at the Pocket-hole, or stopt at something that was in the Pocket, and hung a little out, which the Boy, who had watch'd it a good while, perceiving, he passes by close to the Gentleman, and carry'd it smoothly off, without the Gentleman's perceiving it at all.

HE went on, and said, 'tis very strange Gentlemen should put Pocket Books which have such Things in them into those loose Pockets, and in so careless a Manner; that's very true, says the Gentleman, and so with some other Discourse of no great Signification, he came away to me.

WE were now so rich that we scarce knew what to do with our Money, at least I did not, for I had no Relations, no Friend, no where to put any Thing I had but in my Pocket; as for *Will*, he had a poor Mother, but wicked as himself, and he made her rich, and glad with his good Success.

WE divided this Booty equally, for tho' the gaining it was mine, yet the improving of it was his, and his Management brought the Money; for neither he or I could have made any Thing proportionable of the Thing any other Way; as for the Bills, there was no Room to doubt, but unless they had been carried that Minute to the *Goldsmith's* for the Money, he would have come with Notice to stop the Payment, and perhaps have come while the Money was receiving, and have taken hold of the Person; and then

as to the Diamonds, there had been no offering them to Sale by us poor Boys to any Body, but those who were our known Receivers, and they would have given us nothing for them, compar'd to what they were worth; for as I understood afterwards, those who made a Trade of buying stolen Goods, took Care to have false Weights, and cheat the poor Devil that stole them, at least an Ounce in three.

UPON the Whole, we made the best of it, many Ways besides; I had a strange kind of uninstructed Conscience at that Time; for tho' I made no scruple of getting any Thing in this Manner from any Body, yet I could not bear destroying their Bills and Papers, which were Things that would do them a great deal of Hurt, and do me no good, and I was so tormented about it, that I could not rest Night or Day while I made the People easy, from whom the Things were taken.

I WAS now rich, so rich that I knew not what to do with my Money, or with myself, I had liv'd so near and so close, that altho' as I said, I did now and then lay out 2 d. or 3 d. for meer Hunger, yet I had so many People, who, as I said, employ'd me, and who gave me Victuals, and sometimes Cloaths, that in a whole Year I had not quite spent the 15s. which I had sav'd of the *Custom-house Gentleman's Money*, and I had the 4 Guineas, which was of the first Booty before that, still in my Pocket, I mean the Money that I let fall into the Tree.

BUT now I began to look higher, and tho' *Will* and I went abroad several Times together, yet when small Things offer'd, as Handkerchiefs, and such Trifles, we would not meddle with them, not caring to run the Risque for small Matters: It fell out one Day that as we were stroling about in *West-Smithfield* on a *Friday*, there hap-

pen'd to be an antient Country Gentleman in the Market selling some very large Bullocks, it seems they come out of *Sussex*, for we heard him say there were no such Bullocks in the whole County of *Sussex*, his Worship, *for so they called him*, had receiv'd the Money for these Bullocks at a Tavern, whose Sign I forget now, and having some of it in a Bag, and the Bag in his Hand, he was taken with a sudden fit of Coughing, and stands to cough, resting his Hand with the Bag of Money in it, upon the Bulk-head of a Shop, just by the *Cloister-Gate* in *Smithfield*, that is to say, within 3 or 4 Doors of it; we were both just behind him, says *Will* to me, stand ready, upon this, he makes an artificial stumble, and falls with his Head just against the old Gentleman in the very Moment when he was coughing ready to be strangl'd, and quite spent for want of Breath.

THE Violence of the Blow beat the old Gentleman quite down, the Bag of Money did not immediately fly out of his Hand, but I run to get Hold of it, and gave it a quick Snatch, pulled it clean away, and run like the Wind down the *Cloysters* with it, turn'd on the Left-Hand as soon as I was thro', and cut into *Little-Britain*, so into *Bartholomew-Close*, then cross *Aldersgate-street*, thro' *Paul's Alley* into *Red-cross-street*, and so cross all the Streets, thro' innumerable Allies, and never stopp'd till I got into the second Quarter of *Moorfields*, our old agreed Rendezvous.

WILL, in the mean Time, fell down with the old Gentleman, but soon got up; the old Knight, *for such it seems he was*, was frighted with the Fall, and his Breath so stopp'd with the Cough, that he could not recover himself to speak till some Time, during which, nimble *Will* was got up again, and walk'd off; nor could he call out stop Thief,

or tell any Body he had lost any Thing for a good while; but Coughing vehemently, and looking red till he was almost black in the Face, he cry'd the Ro—— *Hegh, Hegh, Hegh*, the Rogues *Hegh*, have got *Hegh, Hegh, Hegh, Hegh, Hegh, Hegh*, then he would get a little Breath, and at it again, the Rogue —— *Hegh, Hegh*, and after a great many *Heghs*, and *Rogues*, he brought it out, have got away my Bag of Money.

ALL this while the People understood nothing of the Matter, and as for the Rogues indeed, they had Time enough to get clear away, and in about an Hour *Will* came to the Rendezvous; there we sat down in the Grass again, and turn'd out the Money, which prov'd to be 8 Guineas, and 5*l.* 8*s.* in Silver, so that it made just 14*l.* together; this we shar'd upon the Spot, and went to work the same Day, for more; but whether it was that being flush'd with our Success, we were not so vigilant, or that no other Opportunity offer'd, I know not, but we got nothing more that Night, nor so much as any Thing offer'd itself for an Attempt.

WE took many Walks of this Kind, some Time together, at a little Distance from one another, and several small Hits we made, but we were so flush'd with our Success, that truly we were above meddling with Trifles, *as I said before*, no, not such Things, that others would have been glad of; nothing but Pocket-Books, Letter-Cases, or Sums of Money would move us.

THE next Adventure was in the Dusk of the Evening in a Court, which goes out of *Grace-Church-street* into *Lombard-street*, where the *Quakers' Meeting-House* is; there was a young Fellow, who, as we learn'd afterward was a *Woollen-Draper's* Apprentice in *Grace-Church-street*; it

seems he had been receiving a sum of Money, which was very considerable, and he comes to a Goldsmith's-Shop in *Lombard-street* with it; paid in the most of it there, insomuch, that it grew Dark, and the Goldsmith began to be shutting in Shop, and Candles to be lighted: We watch'd him in there, and stood on the other Side of the Way to see what he did. When he had paid in all the Money he intended, he stay'd still sometime longer to take Notes, as I suppos'd for what he had paid, and by this Time it was still darker than before; at last he comes out of the Shop, with still a pretty large Bag under his Arm, and walks over into the Court, which was then very Dark; in the Middle of the Court is a boarded Entry, and farther, at the End of it a Threshold, and as soon as he set his Foot over the Threshold, he was to turn on his Left-hand into *Grace-Church-street*.

KEEP up, says *Will* to me, be nimble, and as soon as he had said so, he flies at the young Man, and gives him such a violent Thrust, that push'd him forward with too great a Force for him to stand, and as he strove to recover, the Threshold took his Feet, and he fell forward into the other Part of the Court, as if he had flown in the Air, with his Head lying towards the *Quakers' Meeting-House*; I stood ready, and presently fell out the Bag of Money, which I heard fall, for it flew out of his Hand, he having his Life to save, not his Money: I went forward with the Money, and *Will* that threw him down, finding I had it, run backward, and as I made along *Fen-Church-Street*, *Will* overtook me, and we scour'd home together; the poor young Man was hurt a little with the Fall, and reported to his Master, as we heard afterward, that he was knock'd down, which was not true, for neither *Will*, or I had any Stick in

our Hands; but the Master of the Youth was it seems so very thankful that his young Man was not knock'd down before he paid the rest of the Money (which was above 100*l.* more) to the Goldsmith, who was Sir *John Sweetapple*, that he made no great Noise at the Loss he had; and as we heard afterward, only warn'd his Prentice to be more careful, and come no more thro' such Places in the Dark; whereas the Man had really no such Deliverance as he imagined, for we saw him before, when he had all the Money about him, but it was no Time of Day for such Work as we had to do, so that he was in no Danger before.

THIS Booty mounted to 29*l.* 16*s.* which was 14*l.* 18*s.* a-piece, and added exceedingly to my Store, which began now to be very much too big for my Management; and indeed I began to be now full of Care for the Preservation of what I had got: I wanted a trusty Friend to commit it to, but where was such a one to be found by a poor Boy, bred up among Thieves? if I should have let any honest Body know that I had so much Money, they would have ask'd me how I came by it, and would have been afraid to take it into their Hands, least I being some Time or other catch'd in my Rogueries, they should be counted the Receivers of stolen Goods, and the Encouragers of a Thief.

We had however in the mean Time a great many other successful Enterprizes, some of one kind, some of another, and were never so much as in Danger of being apprehended; but my Companion *Will*, who was now grown a Man, and encourag'd by these Advantages, fell into quite another Vein of Wickedness, getting acquainted with a wretched Gang of Fellows, that turn'd their Hands to every Thing that was vile.

WILL was a lusty strong Fellow, and withal very bold

and daring, would fight any Body, and venture upon any Thing, and I found he began to be above the mean Rank of a poor Pick-pocket, so I saw him but seldom: however, once coming to me in a very friendly Manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I us'd the old Trade still, that I had had two or three good Jobs, one with a young Woman, whose Pocket I had pick'd of eleven Guineas, and another a Country Woman just come out of a Stage-Coach, seeing her pull out her Bag to pay the Coachman, and that I followed her till I got an Opportunity, and slipp'd it out so neatly, that tho' there was 8*l.* 17*s.* in it, yet she never felt it go; and several other Jobs I told him of, by which I made pretty good Purchase: I always said you were a lucky Boy, Col. *Jack, says he*, but come, you are grown almost a Man now, and you shall not be always at play at Push-pin, I am got into better Business I assure you, and you shall come into it too, I'll bring you into a brave Gang, *Jack, says he*, where you shall see we shall be all Gentlemen.

THEN he told me the Trade itself, in short, which was with a Set of Fellows, that had two of the most desperate Works upon their Hands that belong'd to the whole Art of Thieving; *that is to say*, in the Evening they were Foot-pads, and in the Night they were House-breakers: *Will* told me so many plausible Stories, and talk'd of such great Things, that in short, I who had been always us'd to do any Thing he bid me do, went with him without any Hesitation.

NOTHING is more certain, than that hitherto being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught Childhood, as I observ'd before, partly from the Hardness, and Wick-edness of the Company I kept, and add to these, that it was

the Business I might be said to be brought up to, I had, *I say*, all the way hitherto, no Manner of Thoughts about the Good or Evil of what I was embark'd in; consequently, I had no Sense of Conscience, no Reproaches upon my Mind for having done amiss.

YET I had something in me, by what secret Influence I knew not, kept me from the other Degree of Raking and Vice, and in short, from the general Wickedness of the rest of my Companions: For Example, I never us'd any ill Words, no Body ever heard me swear, nor was I given to Drink, or to love strong Drink; and I cannot omit a Circumstance that very much serv'd to prevent it; I had a strange original Notion, as I have mentioned in its Place, of my being a Gentleman; and several Things had casually happen'd in my Way to encrease this Fancy of mine; it happen'd one Day, that being in the *Glass-house* Yard, between *Rosemary-lane* and *Ratcliff-highway*, there came a Man dress'd very well, and with a Coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy Glass-bottles, or some other Goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his Goods, he swore most horrible Oaths at every two or three Words.

At length the Master of the Glass, an antient grave Gentleman, took the Liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after a while the Gentleman was a little calmer, but still he swore very much, tho' not so bad as at first; after sometime, the Master of the *Glass-house* turn'd from him, really Sir, *says the good old Gentleman*, you swear so, and take God's Name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you, I would rather you would let my Goods alone, and go somewhere else, I hope you won't take it ill, but I don't desire to deal with any

Body that does so, I am afraid my *Glass-house* should fall on your Head while you stay in it.

THE Gentleman grew good humour'd at the Reproof, and said, well come don't go away, I won't swear any more, says he, if I can help it, for I own, says he, I should not do it.

WITH that the old Gentleman look'd up at him, and returning, really Sir, says he, 'tis pity you that seem to be a fine Gentleman, well bred, and good humour'd, should accustom your self to such an hateful Practice; why 'tis not like a Gentleman to swear, 'tis enough for my black Wretches that work there at the Furnace, or for these ragged, naked Black Guard Boys, pointing at me, and some others of the dirty Crew that lay in the Ashes; 'tis bad enough for them, says he, and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a Man of Breeding Sir, says he, a Gentleman! it ought to be look'd upon as below them, Gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better; I beseech you Sir, when you are tempted to swear, always ask your self, is this like a Gentleman? Does this become me as a Gentleman? Do but ask your self that Question, and your Reason will prevail, you will soon leave it off.

I heard all this, and it made the Blood run Chill in my Veins, when he said Swearing was only fit for such as we were; in short it made as great an Impression upon me, as it did upon the Gentleman; *and yet he took it very kindly too, and thank'd the old Gentleman for his Advice.* But from that Time forward I never had the least Inclination to Swearing or ill Words, and abhorred it when I heard the other Boys do it; as to Drinking, I had no Opportunity, for I had nothing to drink but Water or Small Beer, that any Body gave me in

Charity, for they seldom gave away strong Beer; and after I had Money, I neither desir'd strong Beer, or car'd to part with my Money to buy it.

THEN as to Principle, 'tis true I had no Foundation laid in me by Education; and being early led by my Fate into Evil, I had the less Sense of its being Evil left upon my Mind: But when I began to grow to an Age of Understanding, and to know that I was a Thief, growing up in all manner of Villainy, and ripening a pace for the Gallows, it came often into my Thoughts that I was going wrong, that I was in the high Road to the Devil, and several Times would stop short, and ask my self, if this was the Life of a Gentleman?

BUT these little Things wore off again, as often as they came on, and I follow'd the old Trade again; especially when *Will* came to prompt me as I observ'd, for he was a kind of a Guide to me in all these Things, and I had by Custom and Application, together with seeing his Way, learnt to be as cute a Workman as my Master.

BUT to go back where I left off, *Will* came to me as I have said, and telling me how much better Business he was fallen into, would have me go along with him, and I should be a Gentleman: *Will* it seems understood that Word in a quite different manner from me; for his Gentleman was nothing more or less than a Gentleman Thief, a Villain of a higher Degree than a Pick-pocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the Gallows, than could be done in our Way: But my Gentleman that I had my Eye upon, was another Thing quite, tho' I cou'd not really tell how to describe it neither.

HOWEVER the Word took with me, and I went with him; we were neither of us old, *Will* was about 24, and as for me I was now about 18, and pretty tall of my Age.

THE first Time I went with him, he brought me into the Company only of two more young Fellows; we met at the lower part of *Greys-Inn-Lane*, about an hour before Sun-set, and went out into the Fields toward a Place call'd *Pindar of Wakefield*, where are abundance of Brick Kilns: Here it was agreed to spread from the Field Path to the Road Way, all the Way, towards *Pancrass-Church*, to observe any chance Game, which as they call'd it, they might shoot flying: Upon the Path within the Bank, on the Side of the Road going towards *Kentish-Town*, two of our Gang, *Will*, and one of the other, met a single Gentleman walking apace towards the Town, being almost Dark, *Will* cried, *Mark ho*, which it seems was the Word, at which we were all to stand still at a Distance, come in if he wanted Help, and give a Signal if any Thing appear'd that was dangerous.

WILL steps up to the Gentleman, stops him, and put the Question, that is, *Sir, your Money?* the Gentleman seeing he was alone, struck at him with his Cane, but *Will* a nimble strong Fellow flew in upon him, and with strug-
gling got him down, then he begg'd for his Life, *Will* having told him with an Oath, that he would cut his Throat: In that Moment, while this was doing, comes a Hackney Coach along the Road, and the fourth Man who was that Way, cries, *Mark ho*, which was to intimate that it was a Prize, not a Surprize, and accordingly the next Man went up to assist him, where they stop'd the Coach, which had a Doctor of Physick and a Surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable Patient, and I suppose

had had considerable Fees; for here they got two good Purses, one with 11 or 12 Guineas, the other six, with some Pocket Money, two Watches, one Diamond Ring, and the Surgeons Plaster-box, which was most of it full of Silver Instruments.

WHILE they were at this Work, *Will* kept the Man down who was under him; and tho' he promis'd not to kill him unless he offer'd to make a Noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the Noise of the Coach going on again, by which he knew the Jobb was over on that Side: Then he carried him a little out of the Way, tied his Hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no Noise, and he would come back in half an Hour and untie him upon his Word, but if he cried out he would come back and kill him.

THE poor Man promis'd to lie still and make no Noise, and did so; and had not above 11s. 6d. in his Pocket, which *Will* took, and came back to the rest, but while they were together, I who was on the Side of the *Pinder of Wakefield*, cry'd, *Mark oh*, too.

WHAT I saw was a couple of poor Women, one a kind of a Nurse, and the other a Maid Servant going for *Kentish-Town*: As *Will* knew that I was but young at the Work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a Bargain it was, he said, go *Col.* fall to Work; I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly Woman, Nurse, said I, don't be in such Haste, I want to speak with you, at which they both stopp'd, and look'd a little frightened; don't be frightened Sweetheart, said I, to the Maid, a little of that Money in the Bottom of your Pocket will make all easy, and I'll do you no Harm; by this Time *Will* came up to us, for they did not see him before, then they began to scream out,

hold, says I, make no Noise, unless you have a Mind to force us to Murther you whether we will or no, give me your Money presently, and make no Words, and we shan't hurt you; upon this, the poor Maid pull'd out 5s. 6d. and the old Woman a Guinea, and a Shilling, crying heartily for her Money, and said, it was all she had left in the World; well we took it for all that, tho' it made my very Heart bleed to see what Agony the poor Woman was in at parting with it, and I ask'd her where she liv'd, she said her Name was *Smith*, and she liv'd at *Kentish-Town*; I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their Business, and I gave *Will* the Money; so in a few Minutes we were all together again: Says one of the other Rogues, come, this is well enough for one Road, it's Time to be gone; so we jogg'd away, crossing the Fields, out of the Path towards *Tottenham-Court*, but hold, says *Will*, I must go and untie the Man, D-mn him, says one of them, let him lye, no, says *Will*, I won't be worse than my Word, I will untie him; so he went to the Place, but the Man was gone, either he had untied himself, or some Body had pass'd by, and he had call'd for Help, and so was untied, for he could not find him, nor make him hear, tho' he ventur'd to call twice for him aloud.

THIS made us hasten away the faster, and getting into *Tottenham-Court* Road, they thought it was a little too near, so they made into the Town at *St. Giles's*, and crossing to *Piccadilly*, went to *High-Park Gate*; here they ventur'd to rob another Coach, that is to say, one of the two other Rogues and *Will* did it between the *Park-Gate* and *Knightsbridge*; there was in it only a Gentleman and a Punk, a Whore that he had pick'd up it seems at the *Spring-Garden* a little farther; they took the Gentleman's

Money, his Watch, and his Silver hilted Sword, but when they came to the Slut, she damn'd and cursed them for robbing the Gentleman of his Money, and leaving none for her; as for herself, she had not one Six-penny Piece about her, tho' she was indeed well enough dress'd too.

HAVING made this Adventure, we left that Road too, and went over the Fields to *Chelsea*; in the Way from *Westminster* to *Chelsea*, we met three Gentlemen, but they were too strong for us to meddle with, they had been afraid to come over the Fields so late, (for by this Time it was Eight o'Clock, and tho' the Moon gave some Light, yet it was too late and too dark to be safe) so they hired 3 Men at *Chelsea*, two with Pitch-Forks, and the third, a Waterman, with a Boat-Hook-Staff to guard them, we would have steer'd clear of them, and car'd not to have them see us if we could help it, but they did see us, and cry'd, *Who comes there?* We answer'd Friends, and so they went on to our great Satisfaction.

WHEN we came to *Chelsea*, it seems we had other Work to do, which I had not been made privy too, and this was a House to be robb'd; they had some Intelligence it seems with a Servant in the House, who was of their Gang; this Rogue was a Waiting-man, or Footman, and he had a Watch-Word to let them in by; but this Fellow, not for want of being a Villain, but by getting drunk, and not minding his Part of the Work, disappointed us, for he had promised to rise at Two o'Clock in the Morning and let us all in; but being very drunk, and not come in at Eleven o'Clock, his Master order'd him to be shut out, and the Doors lock'd up, and charg'd the other Servants not to let him in upon any Terms whatsoever.

WE came about the House at One o'Clock to make our-

Observations, intending to go and lie under *Beauford-House* Wall till the Clock struck Two, and then to come again; but behold! when we came to the House, there lay the Fellow at the Door fast asleep, and very drunk: *Will*, who I found was the Leader in all these Things, wak'd the Fellow, who as he had had about two Hours Sleep, was a little come to himself, and told them the Misfortune, as he call'd it, and that he could not get in; they had some Instruments about them, by which they could have broken in by Force, but *Will* considered, that as it was but waiting till another Time, and they should be let in quietly, they resolved to give it over for that Time.

BUT this was a happy Drunken-bout for the Family, for the Fellow having let fall some Words in his Drink, for he was a saucy one, as well as a drunken one, and talk'd oddly, as that it had been better they had let him in, and he would make them pay dear for it, or some such Thing; the Master hearing of it, turn'd him away in the Morning, and never let him come into his House again; so I say, it was a happy Drunkenness to the Family, for it saved them from being robb'd, and perhaps murdered, for they were a cursed bloody Crew, and as I found were about Thirteen of them in all, whereof Three of them made it their Business to get into Gentlemens Services, and so to open Doors in the Night, and let the other Rogues in upon them, to rob and destroy them.

I RAMBL'D this whole Night with them, they went from *Chelsea*, being disappointed there as above, to *Kensington*, there they broke into a Brew-house and Wash-house, and by that Means into an Out-kitchen of a Gentleman's House, where they unhang'd a small Copper, and brought it off, and stole about a Hundred wt. of Pewter, and went

clear off with that too, and every one going their own By-ways, they found means to get safe to their several Recep-tacles where they used to dispose of such Things.

We lay still the next day, and shar'd the Effects stolen that Night, of which my Share came to 8*l.* 19*s.* the Copper and Pewter being weighed, and cast up, a Person was at Hand to take it as Money, at about half Value, and in the Afternoon, *Will* and I came away together: *Will* was mighty full of the Success we had had, and how we might be sure of the like this Way every Day. But he observed that I did not seem so elevated at the Success of that Night's Ramble as I used to be, and also that I did not take any great Notice of the Expectations he was in, of what was to come, yet I had said little to him at that Time.

But my Heart was full of the poor Woman's Case at *Kentish-Town*, and I resolv'd if possible to find her out, and gave her her Money: With the Abhorrence that fill'd my Mind at the Cruelty of that Act, there necessarily follow'd a little Distaste of the Thing it self, and now it came into my Head with a double Force, that this was the High Road to the Devil, and that certainly this was not the Life of a Gentleman!

WILL and I parted for that Time, but next Morning we met again, and *Will* was mighty brisk and merry; and Col. *Jack*, says he, we shall be rich very quickly; well, says I, and what shall we do when we are rich? Do, says he, we will buy a couple of good Horses, and go farther a Field; what do you mean by farther a Field, says I? Why, says he, we will take the Highway like Gentlemen, and then we shall get a great deal of money indeed; well, says I, what then? Why then, says he, we shall live like Gentlemen.

BUT *Will*, says I, if we get a great deal of Money, shan't

we leave this Trade off, and sit down, and be safe and quiet?

Ay, says *Will*, when we have got a great Estate, we shall be willing to lay it down; but where, says I, shall we be before that time comes, if we should drive on this cursed kind of Trade?

PRITHEE never think of that, says *Will*, if you think of those Things, you will never be fit to be a Gentleman; he touch'd me there indeed, for it run much in my Mind still that I was to be a Gentleman, and it made me dumb for a while; but I came to my self after a little while, and I said to him pretty tartly, why *Will* do you call this Way of living the Life of a Gentleman?

WHY, says *Will*, why not?

WHY, says I, was it like a Gentleman for me to take that 22 s. from a poor antient Woman, when she beg'd of me upon her Knees not to take it, and told me it was all she had in the World to buy her Bread for her self and a sick Child which she had at Home, do you think I could be so cruel if you had not stood by, and made me do it? Why, I cry'd at doing it, as much as the poor Woman did, tho' I did not let you see me.

YOU Fool you, says *Will*, you will never be fit for our Business indeed if you mind such Things as those, I shall bring you off of those Things quickly; why, if you will be fit for Business, you must learn to fight when they resist, and cut their Throats when they submit; you must learn to stop their Breath, that they may beg and pray no more; what signifies Pity prithee who will pity us when we come to the *Old-Bailey*? I warrant you that whining old Woman that begg'd so heartily for her 22 s. would let you and I beg upon our Knees and would not save our Lives by not com-

ing in for an Evidence against us, did you ever see any of them cry when they see Gentlemen go to the Gallows?

WELL *Will*, says I, you had better let us keep to the Business we were in before, there was no such cruel Doings in that, and yet we got more Money by it then I believe we shall get at this.

No, no, says *Will*, you are a Fool, you don't know what fine Things we shall do in a little while.

UPON this Discourse we parted for that Time, but I resolv'd with my self, that I would never be concern'd with him that Way any more; the Truth is, they were such a dreadful Gang, such horrid barbarous Villains, that even that little while that I was among them, my very Blood run cold in my Veins at what I heard, particularly the continu'd Raving and Damning one another, and themselves at every Word they spoke; and then the horrid Resolutions of Murther, and cutting Throats, which I perceiv'd was in their Minds upon any Occasion that should present; this appear'd first in their Discourse upon the Disappointment they met with at *Chelsea*, where the two Rogues that were with us, ay, and *Will* too damn'd and rag'd that they could not get into the House, and swore they would have cut the Gentleman's Throat if they had got in, and shook Hands, damning and cursing themselves, if they did not murther the whole Family as soon as *Tom* (that was the Man Servant) could get an Opportunity to let them in.

Two Days after this, *Will* came to my Lodging, for I had now got a Room by my self, had bought me tollerable good Cloaths, and some Shirts, and began to look like other Folks, but as it happen'd, I was abroad upon the Scout another Way; for tho' I was not harden'd enough for so black

a Villain as *Will* would have had me be, yet I had not arriv'd to any Principle sufficient to keep me from a Life, in its Degree wicked enough, which tended to the same Destruction, tho' not in so violent and precipitant Degrees: I had his Message deliver'd to me, which was to meet him the next Evening at such a Place, and I came in Time enough to meet, so I went to the Place, but resolv'd beforehand, that I would not go any more with him among the Gang.

HOWEVER, to my great Satisfaction I miss'd him, for he did not come at all to the Place, but met with the Gang at another Place, they having sent for him in haste upon the Notice of some Booty; and so they went all away together; this was a Summons, it seems, from one of the Creatures, which they had Abroad in a Family, where an Opportunity offer'd them to commit a notorious Robbery, down almost as far as *Hounslow*, and where they wounded a Gentleman's Gardiner so, that I think he died, and robb'd the House of a very considerable Sum of Money and Plate.

THIS however was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the Resistance they met with, the Neighbours were all arm'd, and the Gentlemen Rogues were pursued, and being at *London* with the Booty, one of them was taken; *Will*, a dexterous Fellow, and Head of the Gang, made his Escape, and tho' in his Cloaths, with a great Weight about him, of both Money and Plate, plung'd into the *Thames*, and swam over where there was no Path, or Road, leading to the River; so that no Body suspected any ones going that way; being got over, he made his Way, wet as he was, into some Woods adjacent, and as he told me afterwards, not far from *Chertsey*, and stayed lurking about in the Woods, or Fields thereabout, till his Cloaths

were dry, then in the Night got down to *Kingston*, and so to *Mortlack*, where he got a Boat to *London*.

He knew nothing that one of his Comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were oblig'd to disperse, and every one to shift for himself: He happened to come Home in the Evening, as good Luck then directed him, just after Search had been made for him by the Constables; his Companion, who was taken, having upon promise of Favour, and of saving him from the Gallows, discover'd his Companions, and *Will* among the rest, as the principal Party in the whole Undertaking.

Will got Notice of this just Time enough to run for it, and not to be taken, and away he came to look for me; but as my good Fate still directed, I was not at Home neither; however, he left all his Booty at my Lodging, and hid it in an old Coat, that lay under my Bedding, and left Word that my Brother *Will* had been there, and had left his Coat that he borrow'd of me, and that it was under my Bed.

I KNEW not what to make of it, but went up to go to Bed, and finding the Parcel, was perfectly frighted to see wrap'd up in it above Hundred Pound in Plate, and Money, and yet knew nothing of Brother *Will*, as he call'd himself, nor did I hear of him in three or four Days.

At the End of four Days, I heard by great Accident that *Will*, who us'd to be seen with me, and who call'd me Brother, was taken, and would be hang'd: Next Day a poor Man, a Shoemaker, that us'd formerly to have a Kindness for me, and to send me of Errands, and give me sometimes some Victuals, seeing me accidentally in *Rosemary-Lane*, going by him, clap'd me fast hold by the Arm, hark ye young Man, says he, have I catch'd you, and hal'd me along as if I had been a Thief apprehended, and he the Con-

stable; hark ye, *Col. Jack*, says he again, come along with with me, I must speak with you: What are you got into this Gang too? What are you turn'd House-breaker? Come I'll have you hang'd to be sure.

THESE were dreadful Words to me, who tho' not guilty of the particular Thing in Question, yet was frightened heartily before, and did not know what I might be charg'd with by *Will*, if he was taken, as I had heard that very Morning, he was; with these Words, the Shoemaker began to hale and drag me along as he used to do when I was a Boy.

HOWEVER recovering my Spirits, and provoked to the highest Degree, I said to him again, what do you mean Mr. —? Let me alone, or you will oblige me to make you do it, and with that, I stop'd short, and soon let him see I was a little too big to be hal'd about, as I us'd to be, when I run of his Errands, and made a Motion with my other Hand as if I would strike him in the Face.

How, *Jack!* says he, will you strike me? Will you strike your old Friend? and then he let go my Arm, and laugh'd; well, but hark ye *Col. says he*, I am in earnest, I hear bad News of you; they say you are gotten into bad Company, and that this *Will* calls you Brother; he is a great Villain, and I hear he is charg'd with a bloody Robbery, and will be hang'd, if he is taken; I hope you are not concern'd with him, if you are, I would advise you to shift for your self, for the Constable and the Headborough are after him to Day, and if he can lay any Thing to you he will do it you may be sure; he will certainly hang you to save himself.

THIS was kind, and I thanked him, but told him, this was a Thing too serious, and that had too much Weight in it to be jested with, as he had done before; and that some ignorant Stranger might have seiz'd upon me, as a Person guilty,

who had no farther Concern in it, than just knowing the Man, and so I might have been brought into Trouble for nothing; at least People might have thought I was among them, whether I was or no, and it would have rendered me suspected, tho' I was Innocent.

He acknowledg'd that, told me he was but in jest, and that he talk'd to me just as he us'd to do: However, Col. *says he*, I won't jest any more with you, in a Thing of such a dangerous Consequence; I only advise you to keep the Fellow Company no more.

I THANK'D him, and went away, but in the greatest Perplexity imaginable; and now not knowing what to do with myself, or with the little ill-gotten Wealth which I had; I went musing, and alone into the Fields towards Stepney, my usual Walk; and there began to consider what to do, and as this Creature had left his Prize in my Garret, I began to think, that if he should be taken, and should confess, and send the Officers to search there for the Goods, and they should find them, I should be undone, and should be taken up for a Confederate; whereas, I knew nothing of the Matter, and had no Hand in it.

WHILE I was thus musing, and in great Perplexity, I heard somebody hallow to me; and looking about, I saw *Will* running after me: I knew not what to think at first; but seeing him alone was the more encouraged, and I stood still for him; when he came up to me, I said to him, What's the Matter *Will*? Matter, *says Will*, Matter enough, I am undone, when was you at Home?

I saw what you left there, *says I*, what is the Meaning of it, and where got you all that? Is that your being undone?

Ay, *says Will*, I am undone for all that; for the Officers are after me, and I am a dead Dog if I am taken, for *George*

is in Custody, and he has peach'd me and all the other, to save his Life.

LIFE ! *says I*, why, should you lose your Life, if they should take you, pray what would they do to you ?

Do to me, *says he*, they would hang me, if the King had ne'er another Soldier in his Guards, I shall certainly be hang'd, as I am now alive.

THIS frightened me terribly, and *I said*, and what will you do then ? Nay, *says he*, I know not, I would get out of the Nation if I knew how ; but I am a Stranger to all those Things, and I know not what to do, not I ; advise me, *Jack*, *says he*, prithee tell me whither shall I go, I have a good Mind to go to Sea.

You talk of going away, *says I*, what will you do with all you have hid in my Garret, it must not lie there, *said I*, for if I should be taken up for it, and it be found to be the Money you stole, I shall be ruin'd.

I CARE not what becomes of it, not I, *says Will* ; I'll be gone, do you take it, if you will, and do what you will with it ; I must fly, and I cannot take it with me : I won't have it, not I, *says I*, to him, I'll go and fetch it to you if you will take it, *says I*, but I won't meddle with it ; besides, there is Plate, what shall I do with Plate, *said I*, if I should offer to sell it any where, *said I*, they will stop me.

As for that, *says Will*, I cou'd sell it well enough, if I had it, but I must not be seen any where among my old Acquaintance ; for I am blown, and they will all betray me : But I will tell you where you shall go and sell it if you will, and they will ask you no Questions, if you give them the Word that I will give you ; so he gave me the Word, and Directions to a *Pawnbroker*, near *Cloth-fair* ; the Word was **GOOD TOWER STANDARD** ; having these Instruc-

tions, he said to me, Col. *Jack*, I am sure you won't betray me; and I promise you if I am taken, and should be hang'd, I won't name you; I will go to such a House, naming a House at *Bromley by Bow*; where he and I had often been, and there, *says he*, I'll stay till it is dark; at Night I will come near the Streets, and I will lie under such a Haystack all Night, a Place we both knew also very well; and if you cannot finish to come to me there, I will go back to *Bow*.

I WENT back and took the Cargo, went to the Place by *Cloth-fair*, and gave the Word, *GOOD TOWER STANDARD*; and without any Words they took the Plate, weigh'd it, and paid me after the Rate of 2*s. per Ounce* for it; so I came away, and went to meet him; but it was too late to meet him at the first Place; but I went to the Haystack, and there I found him fast asleep.

I DELIVER'D him his Cargo, what it really amounted to, I knew not, for I never told it; but I went Home to my Quarters very late and tir'd; I went to sleep at first, but notwithstanding, I was so weary I slept little or none for several Hours; at last being overcome with Sleep, I drop'd, but was immediately rous'd with Noise of People knocking at the Door, as if they would beat it down, and crying and calling out to the People of the House, rise, and let in the Constable here, we come for your Lodger in the Garret.

I WAS frighted to the last Degree, and started up in my Bed; but when I was awake, I heard no Noise at all, but of two *Watch-men* thumping at the Doors with their Staves, and giving the Hour past Three o'Clock, and a rainy wet Morning, *for such it was*: I was very glad when I found it was but a Dream, and went to Bed again, but was soon rouz'd a second Time, with the same, very same Noise, and Words: Then being sooner awak'd than I was before, I

jump'd out of Bed, and run to the Window, and found it was just an Hour more, and the *Watch-men* were come about past Four o'Clock, and they went away again very quietly; so I lay me down again, and slept the rest of the Night quietly enough.

I LAID no Stress upon the Thing call'd a Dream, neither till now did I understand that Dreams were of any Importance: But getting up the next Day, and going out with a Resolution to meet Brother *WILL*, who should I meet but my former Brother, Captain *Jack*? When he saw me, he came close to me in his blunt Way; and says, do you hear the News? No, not I, *said I*, what News? Your old Comrade and Teacher is taken this Morning and carried to *Newgate*; how! *says I*, this Morning! Yes, *says he*, this Morning, at Four o'Clock, he is charg'd with a Robbery and Murder, some where beyond *Brentford*, and that which is worse, is, that he is impeach'd by one of the Gang, who to save his own Life, has turn'd Evidence; and therefore you had best consider, *says the Captain*, what you have to do: What I have to do! *says I*, and what do you mean by that? Nay, Col. *says he*, don't be angry, you know best if you are not in Danger; I am glad of it, but I doubt not but you were with them: No, not I, *said I*, again, I assure you I was not; well, *says he*, but if you were not with them this Bout, you have been with them at other Times; and 'twill be all one: Not I, *says I*, you are quite mistaken, I am none of their Gang; they are above my Quality; with such, and a little more Talk of that kind we parted, and Captain *Jack* went away; but as he went, I observ'd, he shook his Head, seem'd to have more Concern upon him, than I at first apprehended; and indeed, more than he cou'd be suppos'd

to have, meerly on my Account, of which we shall hear more very quickly.

I WAS extreamly alarm'd when I heard *Will* was in *Newgate*, and had I known where to have gone, would certainly have fled as far as Legs would have carry'd me ; my very Joints trembled, and I was ready to sink into the Ground, and all that Evening, and that Night following, I was in the uttermost Consternation ; my Head run upon nothing but *Newgate*, and the Gallows, and being hang'd ; which I said I deserv'd, if it were for nothing but taking that two and twenty Shillings from the poor old Nurse.

THE first Thing my perplex'd Thoughts allow'd me to take Care of, was my Money : This indeed lay in a little Compass, and I carried it generally all about me ; I had got together, as you will perceive by the past Account, above Sixty Pounds, for I spent nothing, and what to do with it I knew not, at last it came into my Head, that I would go to my Benefactor, the Clerk at the *Custom-House*, if he was to be found; and see if I could get him to take the rest of my Money; the only Business was to make a plausible Story to him, that he might not wonder how I came by so much Money.

BUT my Invention quickly supply'd that Want ; there was a Suit of Cloaths at one of our Houses of Rendezvous, which was left there for any of the Gang to put on upon particular Occasions, as a Disguise: This was a green Livery, lac'd with Pink-colour'd Galloon, and lin'd with the same ; an edg'd Hat, a Pair of Boots, and a Whip, I went and dress'd my self up in this Livery, and went to my Gentleman, to his House in *Tower-street*, and there I found him in Health, and well, just the same honest Gentleman as ever.

HE star'd at me when first I came to him, for I met him just at his Door ; I say he star'd at me, and seeing me bow, and bow to him several Times, with my lac'd Hat under my Arm ; at last not knowing me in the least, says he to me, *Dost thou want to speak with me, young Man ?* And I said, *yes, Sir, I believe your Worship* (I had learnt some Manners now) *does not know me ; I am the poor Boy Jack* ; he look'd hard at me, and then recollecting me presently, says he, *who, Colonel Jack ! why, where hast thou been all this while ? Why 'tis five or six Years since I saw you : 'Tis above six Years and please your Worship*, says I.

WELL, and where hast thou been all this while ? says he.

I HAVE been in the Country, Sir, says I, at Service.

WELL, Col. *Jack*, says he, you give long Credit, what's the Reason you han't fetch'd your Money all this while, nor the Interest ? Why, you will grow so rich in Time by the Interest of your Money, you won't know what to do with it.

To that I said nothing, but bow'd and scrap'd a great many Times ; well come, Col. *Jack*, said he, come in, and I will give you your Money, and the Interest of it too.

I CRING'D, and bow'd, and told him, I did not come to him for my Money ; for I had had a good Place or two, and I did not want my Money.

WELL, Col. *Jack*, said he, and who do you live with ?

SIR *Jonathan Loxham*, said I, Sir, in *Somersetshire*, and please your Worship : This was a Name I had heard of, but know nothing of any such Gentleman, or of the Country.

WELL, says he, but won't you have your Money *Jack* ?

No, Sir, said I, if your Worship would please, for I have had a good Place.

IF I would please to do, what prithee? Your Money is ready I tell thee.

No, Sir, said I, but I have had a good Place.

WELL, and what doest thou mean *Jack*? I do not understand thee.

WHY, and please your Worship, my old Master, Sir *Jonathan*'s Father left me 30*l.* when he died, and a Suit of Mourning, and —

AND what prithee *Jack*, what hast thou brought me more Money? For then he began to understand what I meant.

YES, Sir, said I, and your Worship would be so good to take it, and put it all together, I have sav'd some too out of my Wages.

I TOLD you, *Jack*, says he, you would be Rich, and how much hast thou sav'd, come let me see it.

To shorten the Story, I pull'd it out, and he was content to take it, giving me his Note, with Interest, for the whole Sum, which amounted Ninety-four Pounds, that is to say,

25*l.* The first Money.

9 For Six Years Interest.

60 Now paid him.

— 94 Pounds.

I CAME away exceeding joyful, made him abundance of Bows and Scrapes, and went immediately to shift my Cloaths again, with a Resolution to run away from *London*, and see it no more for a great while; but I was surpriz'd the very next Morning, when going cross *Rosemary-Lane*, by the End of the Place, which is call'd *Rag-Fair*, I heard one call *Jack*, he had said something before, which I did not hear,

but upon hearing the Name *Jack*, I look'd about me, immediately saw three Men, and after them a Constable coming towards me with great Fury; I was in a great Surprize, and started to run, but one of them clap'd in upon me, and got hold of me, and in a Moment the rest surrounded me, and I was taken, I ask'd them what they wanted, and what I had done? They told me it was no Place to talk of that there; but shew'd me their Warrant, and bad me read it, and I should know the rest when I came before the Justice, so they hurried me away.

I TOOK the Warrant, but to my great Affliction, I could know nothing by that, for I could not read, so I desir'd them to read it, and they read it, that they were to apprehend a known Thief, that went by the Name of one of the three *Jacks of Rag-Fair*, for that he was charg'd upon Oath, with having been a Party in a notorious Robbery, Burglary, and Murder, committed so and so, in such a Place, and on such a Day.

It was to no Purpose for me to deny it, or to say I knew nothing of it, that was none of their Business they said; that must be disputed, they told me, before the Justice, where I would find that it was sworn positively against me, and then perhaps I might be better satisfied.

I HAD no Remedy but Patience, and as my Heart was full of Terror and Guilt, so I was ready to die with the Weight of it as they carry'd me along; for as I very well knew that I was guilty of the first Day's Work, tho' I was not of the last; so I did not doubt but I should be sent to *Newgate*, and then I took it for granted I must be hang'd; for to go to *Newgate* and to be hang'd were to me, as Things which necessarily followed one another.

BUT I had a sharp Conflict to go thro' before it came to

that Part, and that was before the Justice, where when I was come, and the Constable brought me in, the Justice ask'd me my name; but hold, says he, young Man, before I ask you your Name let me do you Justice, you are not bound to answer till your Accusers come, so turning to the Constable, he ask'd for his Warrant.

WELL, says the Justice, you have brought this young Man here by Vertue of this Warrant, is this young Man the Person for whom this Warrant is granted?

Con. I believe so, and please your Worship.

Just. Believe so, Why are you not sure of it?

Con. An't please your Worship, the People said so where I took him.

Just. It is a very particular kind of Warrant, it is to apprehend a young Man who goes by the Name of *Jack*, but no Surname, only that it is said, he is call'd Capt. *Jack*, or some other such Name. Now, young Man, pray is your Name Capt. *Jack*? or are you usually called so?

I presently found that the Men that took me knew nothing of me, and the Constable had taken me up by Hear-say, so I took Heart and told the Justice, that I thought with Submission, that it was not the present Question, what my Name was, but what these Men, or any one else had to lay to my Charge, whether I was the Person who the Warrant empower'd to apprehend or no?

HE smil'd, 'tis very true young Man, says he, it is very true, and on my Word, if they have taken you up, and do not know you, and there is no Body to charge you, they will be mistaken to their own Damage.

THEN I told his Worship, I hop'd I should not be oblig'd to tell my Name till my Accuser was brought to charge me, and then I should not conceal my Name.

It is but reason, said his Worship, Mr. *Constable*, turning to the Officers, are you sure this is the Person that is intended in your Warrant? If you are not, you must fetch the Person that accuses him, and on whose Oath the Warrant was granted: They us'd many Words to insinuate that I was the Person, and that I knew it well enough, and that I should be obliged to tell my Name.

I insisted on the unreasonableness of it, that I should not be oblig'd to accuse my self, and the Justice told them in so many Words, that he could not force me to it, that I might do it if I would indeed; but you see, says the Justice, he understood too well, to be impos'd upon in that Case; so that in short, after an Hour's debating before his Worship, in which Time I pleaded against four of them, the Justice told them they must produce the Accuser, or he must discharge me.

I WAS greatly encourag'd at this, and argued with the more Vigour for my self; at length the Accuser was brought fetter'd as he was from the Gaol, and glad I was when I saw him, and found that I knew him not, that is to say, that it was not one of the two Rogues that I went out with that Night, that we robb'd the poor old Woman.

WHEN the Prisoner was brought into the Room, he was set right against me.

Do you know this young Man, says the Justice?

No Sir, says the Prisoner, I never saw him in my Life.

Hum, says the Justice, did you not charge one that goes by the Name of *Jack*, or Capt. *Jack*, as concern'd in the Robbery and Murder which you are in Custody for?

Pris. Yes, an't please your Worship, says the Prisoner.

Just. And is this the Man, or is he not?

Pris. This is not the Man, Sir, I never saw this Man before.

VERY good, Mr. *Constable*, says the Justice, what must we do now?

I AM surprized, says the Constable, I was at such a House, naming the House, and this young Man went by, the People cryed out there's *Jack*, that's your Man, and these People ran after him, and apprehended him.

WELL, says the Justice, and have these People any Thing to say to him? Can they prove that he is the Person?

ONE said no, and the other said no; and in short, they all said no; why then, said the Justice, what can be done? The young Man must be discharged; and I must tell you Mr. Constable, and you Gentlemen that have brought him hither, he may give you Trouble if he thinks fit, for your being so rash; but look you, young Man, says the Justice, you have no great Damage done you, and the Constable, tho' he has been mistaken, had no ill Design, but to be faithful to his Office; I think you may pass it by.

I TOLD his Worship, I would readily pass it by at his Direction; but I thought the Constable and the rest, could do no less than to go back to the Place where they had insulted me, and declare publickly there that I was honourably acquitted, and that I was not the Man: This his Worship said was very reasonable, and the Constable and his Assistants promised to do it, and so we came all away good Friends, and I was clear'd with Triumph.

NOTE,

“ THIS was the Time that as I mention'd above,
“ the Justice talk'd to me, and told me I was born to
“ better Things, and that by my well managing of my
“ own Defence, he did not question but I had been
“ well educated, and that he was sorry I should fall

“ into such a Misfortune as this, which he hop’d how-
“ ever would be no Dishonour to me, since I was so
“ handsomely acquitted.

THO’ his Worship was mistaken in the Matter of my Education, yet it had this good Effect upon me, that I resolved if possible, I would learn to Read and Write, that I would not be such an uncapable Creature, that I should not be able to read a Warrant, and see whether I was the Person to be apprehended or not.

BUT there was something more in all this than what I have taken Notice of; for in a Word, it appear’d plainly that my Brother Capt. *Jack*, who had the Forwardness to put it to me, whether I was among them or no? when in Truth he was there himself, had the only Reason to be afraid to fly, at the same Time that he advised me to shift for my self.

AS this presently occurr’d to my Thoughts, so I made it my Business to enquire and find him out, and give him Notice of it.

IN the mean Time, being now confident of my own Safety, I had no more Concern upon my Mind about my self; but now I began to be anxious for poor *Will*, my Master and Tutor in Wickedness, who was now fast by the Heels in *Newgate*, while I was happily at Liberty, and I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I FOUND him in a sad Condition, loaden with heavy Irons, and had himself no Prospect or Hope of escaping; he told me he should die, but bid me be easy; for as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it, he would not bring me into the Trouble; as for the Rogue who had betray’d them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might

be satisfied he had never seen me in his Life; but Col. *Jack*, says he, I will tell you who was with us, and that is, your Brother the Captain, and the Villain has certainly nam'd him, and therefore, says he, if you can give him timely Notice of it do, that he may make his Escape.

He said a great many Things to warn me of following the Steps he had led me; I was far out *Jack*, said he, when I told you to be a notorious Thief was to live like a Gentleman; he chiefly discovered his Concern that they had, as he fear'd killed the Gentleman's Gardiner, and that he in particular had given him a Wound in the Neck, of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great Sum of Money in Gold about Him, being the same that I had carried back to him at the Hay-Stack, and he had concealed it so well, that those who took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest Part of it to carry to his Mother, which I very honestly deliver'd, and came away with a heavy Heart; nor did I ever see him since, for he was Executed in about three Weeks Time after, being Condemn'd that very next Sessions.

I HAD nothing to do now but to find the Captain, who tho' not without some Trouble, I at last got News of, and told him the whole Story, and how I had been taken up for him by mistake, and was come off, but that the Warrant was still out for him, and very strict Search after him; I say, telling him all this, he presently discover'd by his Surprize that he was Guilty, and after a few Words more, told me plainly it was all true, that he was in the Robbery, and that he had the greatest part of the Booty in keeping, but what to do with it, or himself, he did not know, and wanted me to tell him, which I was very unfit to do, for I knew ~~nothing~~ of the World; then he told me, he had a Mind to fly into

Scotland, which was easy to be done, and ask'd me if I would go with him: I told him I would with all my Heart, if I had Money enough to bear the Charge; he had the Trade still in his Eyes by his Answer, I warrant you, says he, we will make the Journey pay our Charge, I dare not think of going any more upon the Adventure, says I, besides, if we meet with any Misfortune out of our Knowledge, we shall never get out of it, we shall be undone; nay, says he, we shall find no Money here, if they can catch us, and they can do no worse Abroad, I am for venturing at all.

WELL, but Captain, says I, have you husbanded your Time so ill that you have no Money to supply you in such a Time as this; I have very little indeed, said he, for I have had bad Luck lately; but he lied, for he had a great Share of the Booty they had got at their last Adventure, as above, and as the rest complain'd he and *Will* had got almost all of it, and kept the rest out of their Shares, which made them the willinger to discover them.

HOWEVER it was, he own'd about 22*l.* he had in Money, and something that would yield Money, I suppose it was Plate; but he would not tell me what it was, or where it was, but he said he durst not go to fetch it, for he should be betray'd and seiz'd, so he would venture without it; sure, says he, we shall come back again some Time or other.

I HONESTLY produc'd all the Money I had, which was 16*l.* and some odd Shillings; Now, says I, if we are good Husbands, and travel frugally, this will carry us quite out of Danger; for we had both been assur'd, that when we came out of *England*, we should be both safe, and no Body could hurt us, tho' they had known us; but we neither of us thought it was so many weary Steps to *Scotland* as we found it.

I SPEAK of my self as in the same Circumstances of Danger with Brother *Jack*, but it was only thus, I was in as much Fear as he, but not in quite as much Danger.

I CANNOT omit, that in the Interval of these Things, and a few Days before I carried my Money to the Gentleman in *Tower-street*, I took a Walk all alone into the Fields, in order to go to *Kentish-Town*, and do Justice to the poor old Nurse; it happen'd that before I was aware, I cross'd a Field that came to the very Spot where I robb'd the poor old Woman, and that Maid, or where I should say, *Will* made me rob them; my Heart had reproach'd me many a Time with that cruel Action, and many a Time I had promis'd to my self, that I would find a Way to make her Satisfaction, and restore her Money, and that Day I had set a part for the Work; but was a little surpriz'd that I was so suddenly upon the unhappy Spot.

THE Place brought to my Mind the Villainy I had committed there, and something struck me with a kind of Wish, I cannot say Prayer, for I know not what that meant, that I might leave off that curs'd Trade; and said to my self, O ! that I had some Trade to live by, I would never rob no more, for sure 'tis a wicked abominable Thing.

HERE indeed I felt the Loss of what just Parents do, and ought to do by all their Children; I mean being bred to some Trade or Employment, and I wept many Times, that I knew not what to do, or what to turn my Hand too, tho' I resolv'd to leave off the wicked Course I was in.

BUT to return to my Journey, I ask'd my Way to *Kentish-Town*, and it happen'd to be of a poor Woman that said she lived there, upon which Intelligence, I ask'd if she knew a Woman that lived there whose Name was *Smith*? She answer'd, yes, very well, that she was not a settled In-

habitant, only a Lodger in the Town, but that she was an honest, poor industrious Woman, and by her Labour and Pains, maintained a diseas'd Husband, that had been unable to help himself some Years.

WHAT a Villain have I been, said I to my self, that I should rob such a poor Woman as this, and add Grief and Tears to her Misery, and to the Sorrows of her House? This quicken'd my Resolution to restore her Money, and not only so, but I resolv'd I would give her something over and above her Loss; so I went forward, and by the Direction I had receiv'd, found her Lodging with very little Trouble; then asking for the Woman, she came to the Door immediately, for she heard me ask for her by her Name of a little Girl that came first to the Door; I presently spoke to her, Dame, said I, was not you robb'd about a Year ago, as you was coming Home from *London*, about *Pindar of Wakefield*? Yes indeed I was, says she, and sadly frighted into the Bargain; and how much did you lose? said I, indeed, says she, I lost all the Money I had in the World, I am sure I work'd hard for it, it was Money for keeping a Nurse Child that I had then, and I had been at *London* to receive it; but how much was it Dame? said I, why, says she, it was 22s. and 6d. Half-penny, 21s. I had been to fetch, and the odd Money was my own before.

WELL, look you good Woman, what will you say if I should put you in a Way to get your Money again, for I believe the Fellow that took it is fast enough now, and perhaps I may do you a Kindness in it, and for that I came to see you: O Dear! says the old Woman, I understand you, but indeed I cannot swear to the Man's Face again; for it was Dark, and besides, I would not hang the poor Wretch for my Money, let him live and repent: That is very kind,

says I, more than he deserves from you, but you need not be concern'd about that, for he will be hang'd whether you appear against him or not: But are you willing to have your Money again that you lost? Yes, indeed, says the Woman, I should be glad of that, for I have not been so hard put to it for Money a great while as I am now; I have much ado to find us Bread to eat, tho' I Work hard early and late, and with that she cry'd.

I THOUGHT it would have broke my very Heart, to think how this poor Creature work'd, and was a Slave at near Threescore, and that I a young Fellow of hardly Twenty, should rob her of her Bread to support my Idleness, and wicked Life; and the Tears came from my Eyes in Spight of all my struggling to prevent it, and the Woman per-
ceiv'd it too; poor Woman, said I, 'tis a sad Thing such Creatures as these should plunder and strip such a poor Object as thou art? Well, he is at Leisure now to repent it I assure you: I perceive Sir, says she, you are very com-
passionate indeed, I wish he may improve the Time God has spar'd him, and that he may repent, and I pray God give him Repentance, whoever he is, I forgive him, whether he can make me Recompence or not, and I pray God forgive him, I won't do him any Prejudice, not I; and that she went on praying for me.

WELL, Dame, come hither to me, says I, and with that I put my Hand into my Pocket, and she came to me: Hold up your Hand, said I, which she did, and I told her Nine Half-Crowns into her Hand, there Dame, said I, is your 22 s. 6 d. you lost, I assure you Dame, said I, I have been the chief Instrument to get it of him for you; for ever since he told me the Story of it among the rest of his wicked Exploits; I never gave him any Rest till I made him pro-

mise me to make you Restitution: All the while I held her Hand and put the Money into it, I looked in her Face, and I perceiv'd her Colour come and go, and that she was under the greatest Surprise of Joy imaginable.

WELL God bless him, says she, and spare him from the Disaster he is afraid of, if it be his Will, for sure, this is an Act of so much Justice, and so honest, that I never expected the like; she run on a great while so, and wept for him, when I told her I doubted there was no room to expect his Life; well, says she, then pray God give him Repentance, and bring him to Heaven, for sure he must have something that is Good at the Bottom; he has a Principle of Honesty at Bottom to be sure, however, he may have been brought into bad Courses, by bad Company or evil Example, or other Temptations; but I dare say he will be brought to Repentance one Time or other before he dies.

ALL this touch'd me nearer than she imagin'd, for I was the Man that she pray'd for all this while; tho' she did not know it, and in my Heart I said *Amen* to it; for I was sensible that I had done one of the vilest Actions in the World, in attacking a poor Creature in such a Condition, and not listening to her Entreaties, when she begg'd so heartily for that little Money we took from her.

IN a Word, the good Woman so mov'd me with her charitable Prayers, that I put my Hand in my Pocket again for her, Dame, said I, you are so charitable in your Petitions for this miserable Creature, that it puts me in Mind of one Thing more which I will do for him, whether he ordered me or not; and that is, to ask you Forgiveness for the Thief in robbing you, for it was an Offence, and a Trespass against you, as well as an Injury to you; and therefore I ask your Pardon for him, will you sincerely and heartily

forgive him Dame? I do desire it of you; and with that I stood up, and with my Hat off, asked her Pardon; O! Sir, says she, do not stand up, and with your Hat off to me, I am a poor Woman, I forgive him, and all that were with him; for there was one or more with him, I forgive them with all my Heart, and I pray God to forgive them.

WELL Dame, then said I, to make you some Recompence for your Charity, there is something for you more than your Loss; and with that I gave her a Crown more.

THEN I ask'd her who that was, who was robb'd with her? She said it was a Servant Maid that liv'd then in the Town, but she was gone from her Place, and she did not know where she liv'd now: Well Dame, says I, if ever you do hear of her, let her leave Word where she may be found; and if I live to come and see you again, I will get the Money of him for her too, I think that was but little, was it; no, says she, it was but 5 s. 6 d. which I knew as well as she; well, says I, Dame, enquire her out if you have an Opportunity; so she promised me she would, and away I came.

THE Satisfaction this gave me was very much, but then a natural Consequence attended it, which fill'd me with Reflection afterwards, and this was, that by the same Rule, I ought to make Restitution to all that I had wrong'd, in the like manner; and what cou'd I do as to that? To this I knew not what to say, and so the Thought in Time wore off, for in short, it was impossible to be done: I had not Ability, neither did I know any of the People who I had so injur'd, and that satisfying me for the present, I let it drop.

I COME now to my Journey with Capt. *Jack*, my supposed Brother: We set out from *London* on Foot, and travell'd the first day to *Ware*, for we had learnt so much of our Road, that the Way lay thro' that Town; we were weary

enough the first Day, having not been used at all to travell-ing; but we made shift to walk once up and down the Town, after we came into it.

I soon found that his walking out to see the Town, was not to satisfy his Curiosity in viewing the Place; for he had no Notion of any Thing of that Kind, but to see if he cou'd light on any Purchase, for he was so natural a Thief, that he could see nothing on the Road, but it occurr'd to him how easily that might be taken, and how cleverly this might be carried off, and the like.

NOTHING offer'd in *Ware* to his Mind, it not being Market Day, and as for me, tho' I made no great Scruple of eating and drinking at the Cost of his Roguery, yet I resolv'd not to enter upon any Thing, as they call'd it, nor to take the least Thing from any Body.

WHEN the Captain found me resolv'd upon the Negative, he asked me, how I thought to Travel? I ask'd him what he thought of himself, that was sure to be hang'd if he was taken, how small soever the Crime was that he should be taken for? How can that be, says he, they don't know me in the Country; ay, says I, but do you think they do not send up Word to *Newgate* as soon as any Thief is taken in the Country, and so enquire who is escap'd from them, or who is fled, that they may be stopp'd? Assure yourself, says I, the Jaylors correspond with one another, with the greatest Exactness imaginable; and if you were taken here but for stealing a Basket of Eggs, you shall have your Accuser sent down to see if he knows you.

THIS terrified him a little for a while, and kept him honest for three or four Days; but it was but for a few Days indeed, for he play'd a great many Rogues Tricks without me, till at last he came to his End without me too, tho' it

was not till many Years after, as you shall hear in its Order; but as these Exploits are no Part of my Story, but of his, whose Life and Exploits are sufficient to make a Volume larger than this by its self; so I shall omit every Thing but what I was particularly concern'd in, during this tedious Journey.

FROM *Ware* we travell'd to *Cambridge*, tho' that was not our direct Road, the Occasion was this; in our Way going through a Village call'd *Puckeridge*, we baited at an Inn, at the Sign of the *Faulcon*, and while we were there, a Countryman comes to the Inn, and hangs his Horse at the Door, while he goes in to drink; we sat in the Gate-way, having called for a Mug of Beer, and drank it up: We had been talking with the Hostler about the Way to *Scotland*, and he had bid us ask the Road to *Royston*, but, says he, there is a Turning just here a little farther, you must not go that Way, for that goes to *Cambridge*.

WE had paid for our Beer, and sat at the Door, only to rest us, when on the sudden comes a Gentleman's Coach to the Door, and three or four Horsemen; the Horsemen rode into the Yard, and the Hostler was oblig'd to go in with them; says he to the Captain, young Man pray take hold of the Horse, meaning the Countryman's Horse, I mention'd above, and take him out of the Way, that the Coach may come up; he did so, and beckon'd me to follow him; we walked together to the Turning, says he to me, do you step before and turn up the Lane, I'll overtake you; so I went on up the Lane, and in a few Minutes he was got up upon the Horse and at my Heels, come get up, says he, we will have a Lift, if we don't get the Horse by the Bargain.

I MADE no Difficulty to get up behind him, and away we

went at a good round Rate, it being a good strong Horse: We lost no Time for an Hours riding and more, by which Time we thought we were out of the Reach of being pursued, and as the Countryman, when he should miss his Horse, would hear that we enquir'd the Way to *Roxton*, he would certainly pursue us that Way, and not towards *Cambridge*: We went easier after the first Hours riding, and coming thro' a Town or two we alighted by Turns, and did not ride double thro' the Villages.

Now as it was impossible for the Captain to pass by any Thing that he could lay his Hand on, and not take it, so now having a Horse to carry it off too, the Temptation was the stronger; going tho' a Village, where a good Housewife of the House had been Washing, and hung her Cloaths out upon a Hedge near the Road, he could not help it, but got hold of a couple of good Shirts, that were about half dry, and overtook me upon the Spur, for I walk'd on before; I immediately got up behind, and away we gallop'd together as fast as the Horse would well go: In this Part of our Expedition, his good Luck or mine, carried us quite out of the Road, and having seen to ask the Way of, we lost ourselves, and wandered I know not how many Miles to the right Hand, till partly by that Means, and partly by the Occasion following, we came quite into the Coach Road to *Cambridge*, from *London*, by *Bishop-Stortford*; the particular Occasion that made me wander on was thus; the Country was all open Corn-fields, no Enclosures; when being upon a little rising Ground, I bad him stop the Horse, for I would get down, and walk a little to ease my Legs, being tir'd with riding so long behind without Stirrups; when I was down, and look'd a little about me, I saw plainly the great white Road, which we should have gone, at near two Miles from us.

ON a sudden, looking a little back to my Left, upon that Road, I saw four or five Horsemen, riding full Speed, some a good Way before the other, and hurrying on as People in a full Pursuit.

It immediately struck me; Ha! Brother *Jack*, says I, get off of the Horse this Moment, and ask why afterwards; so he jumps off, What's the Matter? Says he, the Matter, says I, look yonder, 'tis well we have lost our Way; do you see how they ride, they are pursuing us you may depend upon it, either, says I, you are pursued from the last Village for the two Shirts, or from *Puckeridge* for the Horse. He had so much Presence of Mind, that without my mentioning it to him, he puts back the Horse behind a great white Thorn-Bush, which grew just by him; so they could by no Means see the Horse, which we being just at the Top of the Hill, they might otherwise have done, and so have pursued that Way at a venture.

BUT as it was impossible for them to see the Horse, so was it impossible for them to see us at that Distance, who sat down on the Ground to look at them the more securely.

THE Road winding about, we saw them a great Way, and they rode as fast as they could make their Horses go; when we found they were gone quite out of Sight, we mounted, and made the best of our Way also; and indeed, tho' we were two upon one Horse, yet we abated no Speed where the Way would admit of it, not enquiring of any Body the Way to any where, till after about two Hours riding, we came to a Town, which upon Enquiry, they call'd *Chesterfield*, and here we stopp'd, and ask'd not our Way to any Place, but whither that Road went, and were told it was the Coach Road to *Cambridge*; also that it was the way to *New-Market* to *St. Edmunds-Bury*, to *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*, to *Lyn*, and to *Ely*, and the like.

WE staid here a good while, believing ourselves secure, and afterwards towards Evening went forward to a Place call'd *Bourn-Bridge*, where the Road to *Cambridge* turns away out of the Road to *New-Market*, and where there are but two Houses only, both of them being *Inns*. Here the Captain says to me, Hark ye, you see we are pursued towards *Cambridge*, and shall be stopp'd if we go thither; now *New-Market* is but ten Mile off, and there we may be safe, and perhaps get an Opportunity to do some Business.

Look ye, *Jack*, said I, talk no more of doing Business, for I will not join with you in any Thing of that Kind; I would fain get you to *Scotland*, before you get a Halter about your Neck, I will not have you hang'd in *England*, if I can help it, and therefore I won't go to *New-Market*, unless you will promise me to take no false Steps there: Well, says he, if I must not, then I won't; but I hope you will let us get another Horse, won't you? that we may travel faster: No, says I, I won't agree to that, but if you will let me send this Horse back fairly, I will tell you how we shall hire Horses afterwards, for one Stage, or two, and then take them as far as we please; 'tis only sending a Letter to the Owner to send for him, and then, if we are stopp'd, it can do us but little Hurt.

You are a wary politick Gentleman, says the Captain, but, I say, we are better as we are; for we are out of all Danger of being stopp'd on the Way after we are gone from this Place.

WE had not parley'd thus long; but tho' in the Dead of the Night, came a Man to the other *Inn* Door, for as above, there are two *Inns* at that Place, and call'd for a Pot of Beer, but the People were all in Bed, and would not rise; he ask'd them if they had seen two Fellows come that Way upon one

Horse: The Man said he had, that they went by in the Afternoon, and ask'd the Way to *Cambridge*, but did not stop only to drink one Mug; O! says he, are they gone to *Cambridge*? Then I'll be with them quickly: I was awake in a little Garret of the next *Inn*, where we lodg'd; and hearing the Fellow call at the Door, got up, and went to the Window, having some Uneasiness at every Noise I heard; and by that Means heard the whole Story: Now, the Case is plain, our Hour was not come, our Fate had determin'd other Things for us, and we were to be reserv'd for it, the Matter was thus; when we first came to *Bourn-Bridge*, we call'd at the first House, and ask'd the Way to *Cambridge*, drank a Mug of Beer, and went on, and they might see us turn off to go the Way they directed; but Night coming on, and we being very weary, we thought we should not find the Way; and we came back in the Dusk of the Evening, and went into the other House, being the first as we came back, as that where we call'd before, was the first, as we went forward.

You may be sure I was alarm'd now, as indeed I had Reason to be; the Captain was in Bed, and fast asleep, but I wak'd him, and rouz'd him with a Noise that frightened him enough; Rise, *Jack*, said I, we are both ruin'd, they are come after us hither; indeed, I was wrong to terrify him at that Rate; for he started, and jumpt out of Bed, and run directly to the Window, not knowing where he was, and not quite awake, was just going to jump out of the Window, but I laid hold of him? What are you going to do? Says I, I won't be taken, says he, let me alone, where are they?

THIS was all Confusion, and he was so out of himself with the Fright; and being overcome with Sleep, that I had

much to do to prevent his jumping out of the Window: However, I held him fast, and thoroughly waken'd him, and then all was well again, and he was presently compos'd.

THEN I told him the Story, and we sat together upon the Bed-side, considering what we should do: Upon the whole, as the Fellow that call'd was apparently gone to *Cambridge*; we had nothing to fear, but to be quiet till Day-break, and then to mount and be gone.

ACCORDINGLY, as soon as Day peep'd, we were up, and having happily informed ourselves of the Road, at the other House; and being told that the Road to *Cambridge* turn'd off on the left Hand, and that the Road to *New-Market* lay strait forward; I say, having learnt this, the Captain told me he would walk away on Foot towards *New-Market*; and so when I came to go out, I should appear as a single Traveller; and accordingly he went out immediately, and away he walk'd, and he travell'd so hard, that when I came to follow, I thought once that he had dropp'd me, for tho' I rid hard, I got no Sight of him for an Hour; at length, having pass'd the great Bank, call'd the *Devil's-Ditch*, I found him, and took him up behind me, and we rode double till we came almost to the End of *New-Market* Town; just at the hither House in the Town, stood a Horse at a Door, just as it was at *Puckeridge*: Now, says *Jack*, if the Horse was at the other End of the Town, I would have him, as sure as we had the other at *Puckeridge*; but it would not do, so he got down, and walk'd thro' the Town on the right Hand Side of the Way.

HE had not got half thro' the Town, but the Horse having some how or other got loose, came trotting gently on by himself, and no Body following him; the Captain, an old Soldier at such Work, as soon as the Horse was got a

pretty Way before him, and that he saw no Body follow'd, sets up a Run after the Horse; and the Horse hearing him follow, ran the faster; then the Captain calls out, stop the Horse, and by this Time the Horse was got almost to the farther End of the Town; the People of the House where he stood, not missing him all the while.

UPON his calling out stop the Horse, the poor People of the Town, such as were next at Hand, ran from both Sides the Way, and stopp'd the Horse for him, as readily as cou'd be, and held him for him, till he came up; he very gravely comes up to the Horse, hits him a Blow or two, and calls him a Dog for running away; gives the Man 2 d. that catch'd him for him, mounts, and away he comes after me.

THIS was the oddest Adventure that cou'd have happen'd, for the Horse stole the Captain, the Captain did not steal the Horse; when he came up to me, now Colonel *Jack*, says he, what say you to good Luck, would you have had me refus'd the Horse, when he came so civilly to ask me to ride? No, no, said I, you have got this Horse by your Wit, not by Design, and you may go on now I think, you are in a safer Condition than I am, if we are taken.

THE next Question was, what Road we should take? Here were four Ways before us, and we were alike Strangers to them all; first on the right Hand, and at a little Mile from the Town, a great Road went off to St. *Edmund's-Bury*; strait on, but enclining afterwards to the Right, lay the great Road to *Barton Mills*, and *Thetford*, and so to *Norwich*; and full before us lay a great Road also to *Brandon* and *Lynn*, and on the Left, lay a less Road to the City of *Ely*, and into the Fens.

IN short, as we knew not which Road to take, nor which Way to get into the great North Road, which we

had left; so we by mere unguided Chance took the Way to *Brandon*, and so to *Lynn*: At *Brand*, or *Brandon*, we were told, that passing over at a Place call'd *Downham-Bridge*, we might cross the Fen Country to *Wisbech*; and from thence go along the Bank of the River *Nyne* to *Peterborough*, and from thence to *Stamford*, where we were in the Northern Road again; and likewise, that at *Lynn*, we might go by the Washes into *Lincolnshire*, and so might travel North. But upon the whole, this was my Rule, that when we enquir'd the Way to any particular Place, to be sure we never took the Road, but some other; which the accidental Discourse we might have, should bring in, and thus we did here, for having chiefly ask'd our Way into the Northern Road, we resolv'd to go directly for *Lynn*.

WE arriv'd here very easy and safe, and while we was considering of what Way we should travel next; we found we were got to a Point, and that there was no Way now left, but that by the Washes into *Lincolnshire*, and that was represented as very dangerous; so an Opportunity offering of a Man that was Travelling over the Fenns; we took him for our Guide, and went with him to *Spalding*, and from thence to a Town call'd *Deeping*, and so to *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*.

THIS is a large populous Town, and it was Market-Day when we came to it; so we put in at a little House, at the hither End of the Town, and walk'd into the Town.

HERE it was not possible to restrain my Captain from playing his Feats of Art, and my Heart ak'd for him; I told him I would not go with him, for he would not promise, and I was so terribly concern'd at the Apprehensions of his venturous Humour, that I would not so much as stir out of my Lodging; but it was in vain to persuade

him; he went into the Market, and found a *Mountebank* there, which was what he wanted; how he pick'd two Pockets there in one Quarter of an Hour, and brought to our Quarters a Piece of new Holland, of eight or nine ells; a Piece of Stuff, and play'd three or four Pranks more in less than two Hours; and how afterward he robb'd a Doctor of Physick, and yet came off clear in them all; this, I say, as above, belongs to his Story, not to mine.

I SCOLDED heartily at him when he came back, and told him he would certainly ruin himself, and me too, before he left off, and threaten'd in so many Words, that I would leave him, and go back, and carry the Horse to *Puckeridge*, where we borrow'd it, and so go to *London* by myself.

HE promis'd Amendment, but as we resolv'd now, (we were in the great Road) to travel by Night, so it being not yet Night, he gives me the Slip again, and was not gone half an Hour, but he comes back with a Gold Watch in his Hand: Come, says he, why an't you ready? I am ready to go as soon as you will; and with that he pulls out the Gold Watch: I was amaz'd at such a Thing as that in a Country Town; but it seems there was Prayers at one of the Churches in the Evening, and he placing himself, as the Occasion directed, found the Way to be so near the Lady, as to get it from her Side, and walk'd off with it unperceived.

THE same Night we went away, by Moon-light, after having the Satisfaction to hear the Watch cry'd, and ten Guineas offer'd for it again, he would have been glad of the ten Guineas, instead of the Watch; but durst not venture to carry it Home. Well, says I, you are afraid, and but you have Reason, give it me, I will venture to carry it again; but he would not let me; but told me, that when he

came into *Scotland* we might sell any Thing there without Danger, which was true indeed, for there they ask'd us no Questions.

WE set out, as I said, in the Evening by Moonlight, and travell'd hard, the road being very plain and large, till we came to *Grantham*, by which Time it was about Two in the Morning, and all the Town, as it were dead asleep, so we went on for *Newark*, where we reach'd about Eight in the Morning, and there we lay down and slept most of the Day, and by this sleeping so continually in the Day-time, I kept him from doing a great deal of Mischief, which he would otherwise have done.

FROM *Newark*, we took Advice of one that was accidentally comparing the Roads, and we concluded that the Road by *Nottingham* would be the best for us; so we turn'd out of the great Road, and went up the Side of the *Trent* to *Nottingham*: Here he play'd his Pranks again in a Manner, that it was the greatest Wonder imaginable to me that he was not surpriz'd, and yet he came off clear; and now he had got so many bulky Goods, that he bought him a Port-manteau to carry them in; it was in vain for me to offer to restrain him any more: So after this he went on his own Way.

AT *Nottingham*, I say, he had such Success, that made us the hastier to be going, than otherwise we would have been, least we should have been baulk'd, and should be laid hold of; from thence we left the Road, which leads to the North again, and went away by *Mansfield* into *Scarsdale*, and *Yorkshire*.

I SHALL take up no more of my own Story, with his Pranks, they very well merit to be told by themselves; but I shall observe only what relates to our Journey. In a

Word, I drag'd him along as fast as I could, till I came to *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*; here, tho' it be a large and populous Town, yet he could make nothing of it, neither had he any Success at *Wakefield*; and he told me, in short, that the North-Country People were certainly all Thieves: Why so? said I, the People seem to be just as other People are: No, no, says he, they have their Eyes so about them, and are all so sharp, they look upon every Body that comes near them to be a Pick-Pocket, or else they would never stand so upon their Guard; and then again, says he, they are so poor, there is but little to be got, and I am afraid, says he, the farther we go North, we shall find it worse. Well, said I, What do you infer from thence? I argue from thence, says he, that we shall do nothing there, and I had as good go back into the South and be hang'd as into the North to be starv'd.

WELL, we came at length to *Newcastle upon Tyne*. Here on a Market-day was a great Throng of People, and several of the Town's-People going to Market to buy Provisions, and here he play'd his Pranks, cheated a Shop-keeper of 15 or 16*l.* in Goods, and got clear away with them; stole a Horse, and sold that he came upon, and play'd so many Pranks, that I was quite frighted for him; I say for him, for I was not concern'd for myself, having never stirr'd out of the House where I lodg'd, at least not with him, nor without some or other with me, belonging to the *Inn*, that might give an Account of me.

NOR did I use this Caution in vain, for he had made himself so publick by his Rogueries, that he was waylaid every where to be taken, and had he not artfully first given out, that he was come from *Scotland*, and was going toward *London*, enquiring that Road, and the like, which amus'd

his Pursuers for the first Day, he had been taken, and in all Probability had been hang'd there; but by that Artifice he got half a Day's Time of them; and yet as it was, he was put so to it, that he was fain to plunge Horse and all into the River *Tweed*, and swim over, and thereby made his Escape: It was true, that he was before upon *Scots* Ground, (as they call'd it) and consequently they had no Power to have carried him off, if any Body had oppos'd them; yet as they were in a full Chase after him, could they have come up with him, they would have run the Risque of the rest, and they cou'd but have deliver'd him up, if they had been questioned about it; however, as he got over the *Tweed*, and was landed safe, they could neither follow him, the Water being too high at the usual Place of going over, nor could they have attempted to have brought him away, if they had taken him: The Place where he took the River, was where there is a *Ford* a little below *Kelso*, but the Water being up, the *Ford* was not passable, and he had no Time to go to the *Ferry-Boat*, which is about a Furlong off, opposite to the Town.

HAVING thus made his Escape, he went to *Kelso*, where he had appointed me to come after him.

I FOLLOWED with a heavy Heart, expecting every Hour to meet him upon the Road, in the Custody of the Constables, and such People, or to hear of him in the Goal; but when I came to a Place on the Border, call'd *Wollerbaugh-head*, there I understood how he had been chas'd, and how he had made his Escape.

WHEN I came to *Kelso*, he was easy enough to be found, for his having desperately swam the *Tweed*, a rapid and large River, made him much talk'd of, tho' it seems they had not heard of the Occasion of it, nor any Thing of his

Character; for he had Wit enough to conceal all that, and live as retir'd as he could till I came to him.

I WAS not so much rejoyc'd at his Safety, as I was provok'd at his Conduct; and the more, for that I could not find he had yet the least Notion of its having been void of common Sense with respect to his Circumstances, as well as contrary to what he promis'd me; however, as there was no beating any Thing into his Head by Words, I only told him, that I was glad he was at last gotten into a Place of Safety, and I ask'd him then how he intended to manage himself in that Country? He said in a few Words, he did not know yet, he doubted the People were very poor; but if they had any Money, he was resolv'd to have some of it.

BUT do you know too, says I, that they are the severest People upon Criminals of your kind in the World? He did not value that, he said, in his blunt short Way, he would venture it; upon this, I told him, that seeing it was so, and he would run such ventures, I would take my Leave of him, and be gone back to *England*: He seem'd sullen, or rather it was the Roughness of his untractable Disposition; he said I might do what I would, he would do, as he found Opportunity; however, we did not part immediately, but went on towards the capital City; on the Road we found too much Poverty, and too few People to give him Room to expect any Advantage in his Way, and tho' he had his Eyes about him, as sharp as a Hawk, yet he saw plainly there was nothing to be done; for as to the Men, they did not seem to have much Money about them; and for the Women, their Dress was such, that had they any Money, or indeed any Pockets, it was impossible to come at them; for wearing large Plads about them, and down to their Knees, they were wrapt up so close, that

there was no coming to make the least Attempt of that Kind.

KELSO, was indeed a good Town, and had abundance of People in it, and yet tho' he staid one *Sunday* there, and saw the Church, which is very large, and throng'd with People; yet, as he told me, there was not one Woman to be seen in all the Church with any other Dress than a *Plad*, except in two Pews, which belong'd to some Noblemen, and who, when they came out, were so surrounded with Footmen and Servants, that there was no coming near them, any more than there was any coming near the King surrounded by his Guards.

We set out therefore with this Discouragement, which I was secretly glad of, and went forward for *Edinborough*; all the Way thither, we went thro' no considerable Town, and it was but very coarse Travelling for us, who were Strangers, for we met with Waters, which were very dangerous to pass, by Reason of hasty Rains, at a Place, call'd *Lauderdale*, and where my Captain was really in Danger of drowning, his Horse being driven down by the Stream, and fell under him, by which he wetted and spoil'd his stolen Goods, that he brought from *Newcastle*, and which had kept dry strangely, by holding them up in his Arms, when he swam the *Tweed*; but here it wanted but little, that he and his Horse had been lost, not so much by the Depth of the Water, as the Fury of the Current; but he had a Proverb in his Favour, and he got out of the Water, tho' with Difficulty enough, not being born to be drown'd, as I shall observe afterwards in its Place.

We came to *Edinborough*, the third Day from *Kelso*, having stopp'd at an *Inn* one whole Day, at a Place call'd *Soutra-Hill*, to dry our Goods, and refresh ourselves: We

were oddly saluted at *Edinborough*, the next Day after we came thither; my Captain having a Desire to walk, and look about him, ask'd me if I would go and see the Town? I told him yes; so we went out, and coming thro' a Gate, that they call the *Nether-Bow*, into the great *High-street*, which went up to the *Cross*, we were surpris'd to see it throng'd with an infinite Number of People: Ay, (says my Captain) this will do; however, as I had made him promise to make no Adventures that Day, otherwise I told him I would not go out with him; so I held him by the Sleeve, and would not let him stir from me.

THEN we came up to the *Mercart-Cross*, and there besides the great Number of People who pass'd and repass'd, we saw a great Parade, or kind of Meeting, like an *Exchange* of Gentlemen, of all Ranks and Qualities, and this encourag'd my Captain again, and he pleas'd himself with that Sight.

IT was while we were looking, and wondering at what we saw here, that we were surpriz'd with a Sight, which we little expected, we observ'd the People running on a sudden, as to see some strange Thing just coming along, and strange it was indeed; for we see two Men naked from the Waist upwards, run by us as swift as the Wind, and we imagin'd nothing, but that it was two Men running a Race for some mighty Wager; on a sudden we found two long small Ropes or Lines, which hung down at first, pull'd strait, and the two Racers stopp'd, and stood still, one close by the other; we could not imagine what this meant, but the Reader may judge at our Surprize when we found a Man follow after, who had the ends of both those Lines in his Hands, and who, when he came up to them, gave each of them two frightful Lashes with a Wire-Whip, or Lash,

which he held in the other Hand; and then the two poor naked Wretches run on again to the Length of their Line or Tether, where they waited for the like Salutation: And in this Manner they danc'd the Length of the whole Street, which is about half a Mile.

THIS was a dark Prospect to my Captain, and put him in Mind, not only of what he was to expect, if he made a Slip in the Way of his Profession in this Place; but also of what he had suffer'd, when he was but a Boy, at the famous Place call'd *Bridewell*.

BUT this was not all, for as we saw the Execution, so we were curious to examine into the Crime too; and we ask'd a young Fellow who stood near us, what the two Men had done, for which they suffer'd that Punishment? The Fellow, an unhappy ill-natur'd *Scotchman*, perceiv'd by our Speech that we were *Englishmen*, and by our Question, that we were Strangers, told us with a malicious Wit, that they were two *Englishmen*; and that they were whip'd so for picking Pockets; and other petty Thieveries, and that they were afterwards to be sent away over the Border into *England*.

Now this was every Word of it false, and was only form'd by his nimble Invention to insult us as *Englishmen*; for when we enquir'd farther, they were both *Scotchmen*, and were thus scourg'd for the usual Offences, for which we give the like Punishment in *England*; and the Man who held the Line, and scourg'd them, was the City Hangman, who (by the Way) is there an Officer of Note, has a constant Salary, and is a man of Substance, and not only so, but a most dextrous Fellow in his Office, and makes a great deal of Money of his Employment.

THIS Sight, however, was very shocking to us; and my

Captain turn'd to me, *Come, says he, let us go away, I won't stay here any longer;* I was glad to hear him say so, but did not think he had meant or intended what he said: However, we went back to our Quarters, and kept pretty much within, only that in the Evenings we walk'd about: But even then my Captain found no Employment, no Encouragement; two or three Times indeed, he made a Prize of some Mercery and Millinary Goods: But when he had them, he knew not what to do with them; so that in short, he was forc'd to be honest, in spight of his good Will, to be otherwise.

WE remain'd here about a Month; when on a sudden my Captain was gone, Horse and all, and I knew nothing what was become of him; nor did I ever see or hear of him for eighteen Months after, nor did he so much as leave the least Notice for me, either whither he was gone, or whether he would return to *Edinborough* again, or no.

I TOOK his leaving me very heinously, not knowing what to do with myself, being a stranger in the Place, and on the other Hand, my Money abated apace too: I had for the most Part of this Time my Horse upon my Hands to keep; and as Horses yield but a sorry Price in *Scotland*, I found no Opportunity to make much of him; and on the other Hand, I had a secret Resolution, if I had gone back to *England*, to have restor'd him to the Owner, at *Puckerridge*, by *Ware*; and so I should have wrong'd him of nothing, but of the Use of him for so long Time: But I found an Occasion to answer all my Designs about the Horse to advantage.

THERE came a Man to the *Stabler* (so they call People at *Edinborough*, that take in Horses to keep) and wanted to know if he could hear of any return'd Horses for *England*;

my Landlord (so we call'd him) came bluntly to me one Day, and ask'd me, *If my Horse was my own?* It was an odd Question, as my Circumstances stood, and puzzl'd me at first; and I ask'd him why, and what was the Matter? Because, says he, if it be a hir'd Horse in *England*, as is often the Case with *English* Men, who come to *Scotland*, I could help you to send it back, and get you something for riding it, so he express'd himself.

I WAS very glad of the Occasion; and in short, took Security there of the Person, for delivering the Horse safe and sound, and had 15*s.* *Sterling* for the riding him: Upon this Agreement I gave order to leave the Horse at the *Falcon* at *Puckeridge*, and where I heard many Years after, that he was honestly left, and that the Owner had him again, but had nothing for the Loan of him.

BEING thus eas'd of the Expence of my Horse, and having nothing at all to do; I began to consider with myself, what would become of me, and what I could turn my Hand to: I had not much diminish'd my Stock of Money, for tho' I was all the Way so wary, that I would not join with my Captain in his desperate Attempts, yet I made no Scruple to live at his Expence, which, as I came out of *England* only to keep him Company, had been but just, had I not known that all he had to spend upon me, was what he had robb'd honest People of, and that I was all that while a Receiver of stolen Goods; but I was not come off so far than as to scruple that Part at all.

IN the next Place, I was not so anxious about my Money running low, because, I knew what a Reserve I had made at *London*; but still I was very willing to have engag'd in any honest Employment for a Livelihood; for I was sick indeed of the wandering Life which I had led, and was re-

solv'd to Thieve no more; but then two or three Things, which I had offer'd me, I lost, because I could not write or read.

THIS afflicted me a great while very much, but the *Stabler*, as I have call'd him, deliver'd me from my Anxiety that Way, by bringing me to an honest, but a poor young Man, who undertook to teach me, both to Write and Read, and in a little time too, and for a small Expence, if I would take Pains at it; I promised all possible Diligence, and to Work I went with it; but found the Writing much more difficult to me than the Reading.

HOWEVER in half a Years Time or thereabouts, I could Read and Write too tollerably well, insomuch that I began to think I was now fit for Business, and I got by it into the Service of a certain Officer of the Customs, who employ'd me for a Time, but as he set me to do little but pass and repass between *Leith* and *Edinborough*, with the Ac-compts which he kept for the Farmers of the Customs there, leaving me to live at my own Expence till my Wages should be due, I run out the little Money I had left in Cloaths and Subsistance, and a little before the Years End, when I was to have 12*l. English* Money, truly my Master was turn'd out of his Place, and which was worse, having been charg'd with some Mis-applications, was oblig'd to take shelter in *England*, and so we that were Servants, for there were three of us, were left to shift for ourselves.

THIS was a hard Case for me in a strange Place, and I was reduc'd by it to the last Extremity; I might have gone for *England*, an *English* Ship being there, the Master proffer'd me to give me my Passage (upon telling him my Distress) and to take my Word for the Payment of 10*s.* when I came there; but my Captain appear'd just then un-

der new Circumstances, which obliged him not to go away, and I was loth to leave him; it seems we were yet farther to take our Fate together.

I HAVE mention'd that he left me, and that I saw him no more for Eighteen Months: His Ramble and Adventures were many in that Time, he went to *Glasgow*, play'd some remarkable Pranks there, escap'd almost miraculously from the Gallows, got over to *Ireland*, wander'd about there, turn'd Raparee, and did some villainous Things there, and escap'd from *Londonderry*, over to the *Highlands* in the *North of Scotland*, and about a Month before I was left destitute at *Leith*, by my Master, behold! my Noble Captain *Jack* came in there, on Board the Ferry-Boat from *Fife*, being after all Adventures and Successes advanc'd to the Dignity of a Foot Soldier, in a Body of Recruits rais'd in the *North*, for the Regiment of *Douglas*.

AFTER my Disaster, being reduc'd almost as low as my Captain, I found no better Shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a Soldier too, and thus we were rank'd together, with each of us a Musquet upon our Shoulders, and I confess that Thing did not sit so ill upon me as I thought at first it would have done; for tho' I far'd hard and lodg'd ill, for the last especially, is the Fate of poor Soldiers in that Part of the World; yet to me that had been us'd to lodge on the Ashes in the *Glass-house*, this was no great Matter; I had a secret Satisfaction at being now under no Necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a Prison, and of the Lash of the Hangman; a Thing which from the time I saw it in *Edinborough*, was so terrible to me that I could not think of it without Horror, and it was an inexpressible Ease to my Mind, that I was now in a certain Way of living, which was honest, and which I could say, was not unbecoming a Gentleman.

WHATEVER was my Satisfaction in that Part, yet other Circumstances did not equally concur to make this Life suit me; for after we had been about six Months in this Figure, we were inform'd that the Recruits were all to march for *England*, and to be shipp'd off at *Newcastle*, or at *Hull*, to join the Regiment, which was then in *Flanders*.

I SHOULD tell you that before this, I was extreamly delighted with the Life of a Soldier, and I took the Exercise so naturally, that the Serjeant that taught us to handle our Arms, seeing me so ready at it, asked me if I had never carried Arms before; I told him no, at which he swore, tho' jesting, they call you Colonel, says he, and I believe you will be a Colonel, or you must be some Colonel's Bastard, or you would never handle your Arms as you do, at once or twice showing.

THIS pleas'd me extreamly, and encourag'd me, and I was mightily taken with the Life of a Soldier; but when the Captain came and told me the News, that we were to march for *England*, and to be shipp'd off for *Flanders* at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, I was surpriz'd very much, and new Thoughts began to come in my Mind; as first, my Captain's Condition was particular, for he durst not appear publickly at *Newcastle*, as he must have done if he had march'd with the Battallion (for they were a Body of above 400, and therefore call'd themselves a Battallion, tho' they were but Recruits, and belonged to the several Companies abroad) I say, he must have march'd with them, and been publickly seen, in which Case he would have been apprehended, and deliver'd up: In the next Place, I remember'd that I had almost 100*l.* in Money in *London*, and if it should have been ask'd all the Soldiers in the Regiment, which of them would go to *Flanders*, a private Centinel if they had 100*l.* in their Pockets, I believe none of them would ans-

wer in the affirmative; a 100*l.* being at that Time sufficient to buy new Colours in any new Regiment, tho' not in that Regiment which was on an old Establishment: This whetted my Ambition, and I dreamt of nothing but being a Gentleman Officer, as well as a Gentleman Soldier.

THESE two Circumstances concurring, I began to be very uneasy, and very unwilling in my Thoughts to go over a poor Musqueteer into *Flanders*, to be knock'd on the Head at the Tune of 3*s. 6d.* a Week: While I was daily musing on the Circumstances of being sent away, as above, and considering what to do, my Captain comes to me one Evening, hark ye, *Jack*, says he? I must speak with you, let us take a Walk in the Fields, a little out from the Houses, we were quarter'd at a Place call'd *Park-End*, near the Town of *Dunbar*, about 20 Miles from *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and about 16 Miles from the River *Tweed*, the nearest Way.

WE walk'd together here, and talk'd seriously upon the Matter; the Captain told me how his Case stood, and that he durst not march with the Battallion into *Newcastle*; that if he did, he should be taken out of the Ranks and tried for his Life, and that I knew as well as he: I could go privately to *Newcastle*, says he, and go through the Town well enough, but to go publickly, is to run into the Jaws of Destruction: Well, says I, that is very true, but what will you do? Do! says he, do you think I am so bound by Honour, as a Gentleman Soldier, that I will be hang'd for them; no, no, says he, I am resolv'd to be gone, and I would have you go with us, said I, what do you mean by us? Why, here is another honest Fellow, an *Englishman* also, says he, that is resolv'd to desert too, and he has been a long while in their Service, and says he knows how we shall be used Abroad, and he will not go to *Flanders*, says he, not he.

WHY, says I, you will be shot to Death for Deserters if you are taken, and they will send out Scouts for you in the Morning all over the Country, so that you will certainly fall into their Hands; as for that, says he, my Comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the Way, and has undertaken to bring us to the Bank of *Tweed*, before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the *Tweed*, they can't take us up.

AND when would you go away? says I.

THIS Minute, says he, no Time to be lost, 'tis a fine Moon shining Night.

I HAVE none of my Baggage, says I, let me go back and fetch my Linnen, and other Things.

YOUR Linnen is not much, I suppose, says he, and we shall easily get more in *England* the old Way.

No, says I, no more of your old Ways, it has been owing to those old Ways that we are now in such a Strait.

WELL, well, says he, the old Ways are better than this starving Life of a Gentleman, as we call it.

BUT, says I, we have no Money in our Pockets, how shall we Travel?

I HAVE a little, says the Captain, enough to help us on to *Newcastle*, and if we can get none by the Way, we will get some *Collier* Ship to take us in, and carry us to *London* by Sea.

I LIKE that the best of all the Measures you have laid yet, said I, and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately: The cunning Rogue having lodg'd his Comrade a Mile off under the Hills, had dragg'd me by talking with him by little and little that Way, till just when I consented, he was in Sight, and he said, look there's my Comrade! who I knew presently, having seen him among the Men.

BEING thus gotten under the Hills, and a Mile of the Way, and the Day just shot in, we kept on a-pace, resolving if possible to get out of the Reach of our Pursuers, before they should miss us, or know any Thing of our being gone.

WE ply'd our Time so well, and travell'd so hard, that by Five o'Clock in the Morning we were at a little Village, whose Name I forget; but they told us that we were within 8 Miles of the *Tweed*; and that as soon as we should be over the River, we were on *English* Ground.

WE refresh'd a little here, but march'd on with but little Stay; however it was half an Hour past 8 in the Morning before we reached the *Tweed*, so it was at least 12 Miles, when they told us it was but 8: Here we overtook two more of the same Regiment, who had deserted from *Haddingtown*, where another part of the Recruits were quarter'd.

THOSE were *Scotchmen*, and very poor, having not one Penny in their Pockets; and had no more when they made their Escape but 8 s. between them; and when they see us, who they knew to be of the same Regiment, they took us to be Pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them; upon which they stood upon their Defence, having the Regiment Swords on, as we had also, but none of the Mounting or Cloathing; for we were not to receive the Cloathing till we came to the Regiment in *Flanders*.

IT was not long before we made them understand, that we were in the same Circumstances with themselves, and so we soon became one Company; and after resting some Time on the *English* Side of the River, (for we were heartily tir'd, and the other were as much fatigued as we were) I say, after resting a while, we set forward towards *New-*

castle, whether we resolv'd to go to get our Passage by Sea to *London*; for we had not Money to hold us out any farther.

OUR Money was ebb'd very low, for tho' I had one Piece of Gold in my Pocket, which I kept reserv'd for the last Extremity; yet it was but Half a Guinea, and my Captain had bore all our Charges as far as his Money would go, so that when we came to *Newcastle*, we had but Six-pence left in all to help ourselves, and the two *Scots* had begg'd their Way all along the Road.

WE contriv'd to come into *Newcasile* in the Dusk of the Evening, and even then we durst not venture into the publick Part of the Town, but made down towards the River, something below the Town where some Glass-houses stand: Here we knew not what to do with ourselves; but guided by our Fate, we put a good Face upon the Matter, and went into an Alehouse, sat down, and call'd for a Pint of Beer.

THE House was kept by a Woman only, that is to say, we saw no other, and as she appeared very Frank, and entertained us chearfully, we at last told our Condition, and asked her, if she could not help us to some kind Master of a *Collier*, that would give us a Passage to *London* by Sea; the subtile Devil, who immediately found us proper Fish for her Hook, gave us the kindest Words in the World, and told us, she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one Day sooner; that there was a *Collier* Master of her particular Acquaintance that went away but with the Morning Tide, that the Ship was fallen down to *Shields*, but she believed was hardly over the Bar yet, and she would send to his House and see if he was gone on Board, for sometimes the Masters do not go away till a Tide after the Ship, and

she was sure if he was not gone, she cou'd prevail with him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on Board immediately the same Night.

We begg'd her to send to his House, for we knew not what to do, and if she cou'd oblige him to take us on Board, we did not care what Time of Night it was; for as we had no Money, we had no Lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on Board.

We look'd upon this as a mighty Favour, that she sent to the Master's House, and to our greater Joy, she brought us Word about an Hour after, that he was not gone, and was at a Tavern in the Town, whether his Boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent Word he would call there in the Way Home.

THIS was all in our Favour, and we were extreamly pleased with it; about an Hour after, the Landlady being in the Room with us, her Maid brings us Word the Master was below, so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our Case, and see to perswade him to take us all on Board; after some Time she comes up with him, and brings him into the Room to us, where are these honest Gentlemen Soldiers, says he, that are in such Distress? We stood all up, and paid our Respects to him: Well, Gentlemen, and is all your Money spent?

I N D E E D it is, said one of our Company, and we shall be infinitely obliged to you Sir, if you will give us a Passage, we will be very willing to do any Thing we can in the Ship, tho' we are not Seamen.

W H Y, says he, were none of you ever at Sea in your Lives?

No, says we, not one of us.

Y O U will be able to do me no Service then, says he, for

you will be all Sick: Well, however, says he, for my good Landlady's Sake here I'll do it; but are you all ready to go on Board, for I go on Board this very Night?

Y E S, Sir, says we again, we are ready to go this Minute.

N O, no, says he very kindly, we'll drink together; come Landlady, says he, make these honest Gentlemen a sneaker of Punch.

W E look'd at one another, for we knew we had no Money, and he perceiv'd it; Come, come, says he, don't be concern'd at your having no Money, my Landlady here and I, never part with dry Lips: Come good Wife, says he, make the Punch as I bid you.

W E thank'd him, and said, God bless you noble Captain, a hundred Times over; being overjoy'd with such good Luck: While we were drinking the Punch, he calls the Landlady, come, says he, I'll step Home and take my Things, and bid them good-bye, and order the Boat to come at High Water and take me up here; and pray good Wife, says he, get me something for Supper, sure if I can give these honest Men their passage, I may give them a bit of Victuals too, it may be they han't had much for Dinner.

W I T H this away he went, and in little while we heard the Jack a going, and one of us going down Stairs for a Spy, brought us Word there was a good Leg of Mutton at the Fire: In less than an Hour our Captain came again, and came up to us, and blam'd us that we had not drank all the Punch out; come, says he, don't be bashful, when that's out we can have another, when I am obliging poor Men, I love to do it handsomely.

W E drank on, and drank the Punch out, and more was brought up, and he push'd it about a-pace; then came up a Leg of Mutton, and I need not say that we eat heartily, be-

ing told several Times that we should pay nothing; after Supper was done, he bids my Landlady ask if the Boat was come? and she brought Word no, it was not High Water by a good deal; no, says he! well then give us some more Punch, so more Punch was brought in, and as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more Brandy than ordinary, that by that Time the Punch was drunk out, we were all very drunk, and as for me I was asleep.

ABOUT the Time that was out, we were told the Boat was come, so we tumbled out, almost over one another into the Boat, and away we went, and our Captain with us in the Boat; most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after sometime, tho' how much or how far going we knew not, the Boat stopp'd, and we were wak'd, and told we were at the Ship's Side, which was true, and with much Help and holding us, for fear we should fall over Board, we were all gotten into the Ship; all I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on Board, our Captain, as we call'd him, call'd out thus, here Boatswain, take Care of these Gentlemen, and give them good Cabbins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are very weary; and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first Time I had ever drank any Punch in my Life.

WELL, Care was taken of us according to order, and we were put into very good Cabbins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep; in the mean Time the Ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on Notice given, had come to an Anchor for us at *Shields*, weigh'd, stood over the Bar, and went off to Sea, and when we wak'd, and began to peep Abroad, which was not till near Noon; the next Day we found ourselves a great Way at Sea, the Land in Sight indeed, but at a great Distance, and all going merrily

on for *London*, as we understood it; we were very well us'd, and well satisfy'd with our Condition for about three Days, when we began to enquire whether we were not almost come, and how much longer it would be before we should come into the River? What River! says one of the Men, why, the *Thames*, says my Captain *Jack*; the *Thames!* says the Seamen, What do you mean by that? What han't you had Time enough to be sober yet? So Captain *Jack* said no more, but look'd about him like a Fool, when a while after, some other of us asked the like *Question*, and the Seamen who knew nothing of the Cheat, began to smell a Trick, and turning to the other *Englishman* that came with us, pray, says he, Where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it? Why to *London*, says he, where should we be going? We agreed with the Captain to carry us to *London*.

NOT with the Captain, says he, I dare say; poor Men you are all cheated; and I thought so when I saw you come Aboard with that Kidnapping Rogue *Gilliman*; poor Men! adds he, you are all betray'd, Why, you are going to *Virginia*, and the Ship is bound to *Virginia*.

THE *Englishman* falls a storming and raving like a Mad Man, and we gathering round him, let any Men guess if they can, what was our Surprize, and how we were confounded when we were told how it was; in short, we drew our Swords and began to lay about us, and made such a Noise and Hurry in the Ship, that at last the Seamen were oblig'd to call out for Help; the Captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first Place, which was not however done without giving and receiving some Wounds, and afterwards he caus'd us to be brought to him into the great Cabbin.

HERE he talk'd calmly to us, that he was really very

sorry for what had befallen us, that he perceiv'd we had been Trapann'd, and that the Fellow who had brought us on Board was a Rogue, that was employ'd by a sort of wicked Merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as Captain of the Ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him yes, and gave him a large Account of ourselves, and how we came to the Woman's House to enquire for some Master of a *Collier* to get a Passage to *London*, and that this Man engag'd to carry us to *London* in his own Ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no Hand in it; but it was out of his Power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our Condition was, namely, that we were put on Board his Ship as Servants to be deliver'd at *Mary-land* to such a Man, who he named to us; but that however if we would be quiet and orderly in the Ship, he would use us well in the Passage, and take Care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do any Thing for us that lay in his Power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such Measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that in short, we must be Hand-cuffed, carried down between the Decks, and kept as Prisoners, for it was his Business to take Care that no Disturbance must be in the Ship.

My Captain rav'd like a Mad-man, swore at the Captain, told him he would not fail to cut his Throat either on Board, or a Shore, whenever he came within his Reach; and that if he could not do it now, he would do it after he came to *England* again, if ever he durst show his Face here again, for he might depend upon it, if he was carried away to *Vir-ginia*, he should find his Way to *England* again; that if it was 20 Years after, he would have Satisfaction of him:

Well, young Man, says the Captain smiling, 'tis very honestly said, and then I must take Care of you while I have you here, and afterwards I must take Care of my self; do your worst, says *Jack* boldly, I'll pay you Home for it one Time or other; I must venture that young Man, says he still calmly, but for the present you and I must talk a little; so he bids the Boatswain, who stood near him secure him, which he did, I spoke to him to be easy and patient, and that the Captain had no Hand in our Misfortune.

No Hand in it! D—n him, said he aloud, do you think he is not Confederate in this Villainy? Would any honest Man receive innocent People on Board his Ship, and not enquire of their Circumstances, but carry them away and not speak to them? And now he knows how barbarously we are treated, Why does he not set us on Shore again? I tell you he is a Villain, and none but him; Why does he not compleat his Villainy and murther us, and then he will be free from our Revenge? But nothing else shall ever deliver him from my Hands; but sending us to the D—l, or going thither himself, and I am honester in telling him so fairly, than he has been to me, and am in no Passion any more than he is.

THE Captain was, I say, a little shock'd at his Boldness, for he talk'd a great deal more of the same kind, with a great deal of Spirit and Fire, and yet without any Disorder in his Temper; indeed I was surprized at it, for I never had heard him talk so well, and so much to the Purpose in my Life: The Captain was, I say, a little shock'd at it, however, he talk'd very handsomely to him, and told him, look ye, young Man, I bear with you the more because I am sensible your Case is very hard, and yet I cannot allow your Threatening me neither, and you oblige me by that,

to be severer with you than I intended; however, I will do nothing to you, but what your threatening my Life makes necessary: The Boatswain call'd out to have him to the *Geers*, as they call'd it, and to have him taste the *Cat-a-nine-tales*; all which were Terms we did not understand till afterwards, we were told he should have been Whipp'd and pickl'd, for they said it was not to be suffered; but the Captain said, No, no, the young Man has been really injur'd, and has Reason to be very much provok'd: But I have not injured him, says he, and then he protested he had no Hand in it, that he was put on Board, and we also by the Owner's Agent, and for their Account; that it was true, that they did always deal in Servants, and carried a great many every Voyage; but that it was no Profit to him as Commander, but they were always put on Board by the Owners, and that it was none of his Business to enquire about them, and to prove that he was not concerned in it, but was very much troubled at so base a Thing, and that he would not be instrumental to carry us away against our Wills, if the Wind and the Weather would permit, he would set us on Shore again, tho' as it blow'd then, the Wind being at South West, and a hard Gale, and that they were already as far as the *Orkneys*, it was impossible.

But the Captain was the same Man, he told him, that let the Wind blow how it would, he ought not to carry us away against our Consents; and that as to his Pretences of his Owners and the like, it was saving of nothing to him, for it was he, the Captain, that carried us away, and that whatever Rogue trapp'd us on Board, (now he knew it) he ought no more to carry us away than murther us, and that he demanded to be set on Shore, or else he the Captain, was a Thief and a Murtherer.

THE Captain continu'd mild still, and then I put in with an Argument, that had like to have brought us all back if the Weather had not really hindered it; which when I came to understand Sea Affairs better, I found was indeed so, and that had been impossible. I told the Captain that I was sorry that my Brother was so warm, but that our Usage was villainous, which he could not deny; then I took up the Air of what my Habit did not agree with, I told him, that we were not People to be sold for Slaves, that tho' we had the Misfortune to be in a Circumstance that oblig'd us to conceal our selves, having disguised ourselves to get out of the Army, as being not willing to go into *Flanders*, yet that we were Men of Substance, and able to discharge ourselves from the Service when it came to that, and to convince him of it, I told him I would give him sufficient Security, to pay 20*l.* a piece for my Brother and my self; and in as short Time as we could send from the Place he should put in at *London*, and receive a Return; and to show that I was able to do it, I pull'd out my Bill for 94*l.* from the Gentleman of the *Custom-house*, and who, to my infinite Satisfaction, he knew as soon as he saw the Bill; he was astonish'd at this, and lifting up his Hands, by what Whitchcraft, says he, were you brought hither!

As to that, says I, we have told you the Story, and we add nothing to it, but we insist upon it, that you will do this Justice to us now: Well, says he, I am very sorry for it, but I cannot answer putting back the Ship; neither if I could, says he, is it practicable to be done.

WHILE this Discourse lasted, the two *Scotchmen* and the other *Englishman* were silent, but as I seem'd to acquiesce, the *Scotchmen* began to talk to the same Purpose,

which I need not repeat, and had not mentioned, but for a merry Passage that followed: After the *Scotchmen* had said all they could, and the Captain still told them they must submit, and will you then carry us to *Virginia*? Yes, says the Captain, and will we be sold, says the *Scotchman* when we come there? Yes, says the Captain, Why then Sir, says the *Scotchman*, the Devil will have you at the hinder End of the Bargain; say you so, says the Captain smiling, Well, well, let the Devil and I alone to agree about that, do you be quiet, and behave civilly as you should do, and you shall be used as kindly both here and there too as I can: The poor *Scotchmen* could say little to it, nor I, nor any of us; for we saw there was no Remedy, but to leave the Devil and the Captain to agree among themselves, as the Captain had said, as to the Honesty of it.

THUS, in short, we were all, *I say*, oblig'd to acquiesce; but my Captain, who was so much the more obstinate when he found that I had a Fund to make such an Offer upon, nor could all my Persuasions prevail with him: The Captain of the Ship and he had many pleasant Dialogues about this in the rest of the Voyage, in which *Jack* never treated him with any Language, but that of Kidnapper, and Villain, nor talk'd of any Thing, but of taking his Revenge of him; but I omit that part, tho' very diverting, as being no Part of my own Story.

IN short, the Wind continu'd to blow hard, tho' very fair, till, as the Seamen said, we were past the Islands, on the North of *Scotland*, and that we began to steer away Westerly, and then in a few Days, (which I came to understand since) as there was no Land any Way, for many hundred Leagues, so we had no Remedy but Patience, and to be as easy as we could; only my surly Captain *Jack* continued the same Man all the Way.

WE had a very good Voyage, no Storms all the Way, and a Northerly Wind almost 20 Days together; so that in a Word, we made the Capes of *Virginia* in two and thirty Days, from the Day we steer'd West, as I have said, which was in the Latitude of 60 Degrees, 30 Minutes, being to the North of the Isle of *Great-Britain*, and this they said was a very quick Passage.

NOTHING material happen'd to me, during the Voyage, and indeed when I came there I was oblig'd to act in so narrow a Compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

WHEN we came ashore, which was in a great River, which they call *Potomack*, the Captain ask'd us, but me more particularly, whether I had any Thing to propose to him now? *Jack* answer'd *Yes*, *I have something to propose to you Captain; that is, that I have promis'd you to cut your Throat, and depend upon it I will be as good as my Word*: *Well, well*, says the Captain, *if I can't help it you shall*; so he turned away to me, I understood him very well what he meant; but I was now out of the Reach of any Relief, and as for my Note, it was now but a bit of Paper of no Value, for no Body could receive it but myself: I saw no Remedy, and so talk'd coldly to him of it, as of a Thing I was indifferent about; and indeed I was grown indifferent, for I consider'd all the Way on the Voyage, that as I was bred a Vagabond, had been a Pick-Pocket, and a Soldier, and was run from my Colours, and that I had no settled Abode in the World, nor any Employ to get any Thing by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the Gallows at the Heels of it; I did not see but that this Service might be as well to me as other Business; and this I was particularly satisfied with when they told me, that after I had served out the five Years Servitude, I should have the Courtesy of the

Country, (as they call'd it) that is, a certain Quantity of Land, to Cultivate and Plant for myself; so that now I was like to be brought up to something, by which I might live without that wretched Thing, call'd Stealing; which my very Soul abhor'd, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that wicked Time that I robb'd the poor Widow of Kentish-Town.

In this Mind I was, when I arriv'd at *Virginia*, and so when the Captain enquired of me what I intended to do, and whether I had any Thing to propose, (that is to say) he meant whether I would give him my Bill, which he wanted to be fingering very much; I answer'd coldly, my Bill would be of no Use to me now, for no Body would advance any Thing upon it, only this I would say to him, that if he would carry me and Captain *Jack* back to *England*, and to *London* again, I would pay him the 20*l.* off my Bill for each of us: This he had no Mind to; *For as to your Brother*, says he, *I would not take him into my Ship for twice 20*l.* he is such a hardened desperate Villain*, says he, *I should be oblig'd to carry him in Irons as I brought him hither.*

THUS we parted with our Captain, or Kidnapper, call him as you will: We were then deliver'd to the Merchants, to whom we were consign'd, who again dispos'd of us as they thought fit, and in a few Days we were separated.

As for my Captain *Jack*, to make short of the Story, that desperate Rogue had the good Luck to have a very easy good Master, whose Business and good Humour he abus'd very much, and in particular, took an Opportunity to run away with a Boat, which his Master entrusted him and another with, to carry some Provisions down the River to another Plantation, which he had there: This Boat and Provisions they ran away with, and sail'd North

to the Bottom of the Bay, (as they call it) and into a River, call'd *Sasquehanuagh*, and there quitting the Boat, they wandered thro' the Woods, till they camc into *Pensilvania*, from whence they made shift to get Passage to *New-England*, and from thence Home; where falling in among his old Companions, and to the old Trade, he was at length taken and hang'd, about a Month before I came to *London*, which was near 20 Years afterward.

My Part was harder at the Beginning, tho' better at the latter End; I was dispos'd of, (that is to say) sold, to a rich Planter, whose name was *Smith*, and with me, the other *Englishman*, who was my Fellow-Deserter, that *Jack* brought me to when we went off to *Dunbar*.

WE were now Fellow-Servants, and it was our Lot to be carried up a small River or Creek, which falls into *Potowmack* River, about eight Miles from the great River: Here we were brought to the Plantation, and put in among about 50 Servants, as well *Negroes*, as others, and being delivered to the Head-man, or Director, or Manager of the Plantation, he took Care to let us know that we must expect to Work, and very hard too; for it was for that Purpose his Master bought Servants, and for no other: I told him very submissively, that since it was our Misfortune to come into such a miserable Condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desir'd, we might be show'd our Business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been us'd to Labour; and I added, that when he knew particularly by what Methods we were brought, and betray'd into such a Condition, he would perhaps see Cause, at least to shew us that Favour, if not more: This I spoke with such a moving Tone, as gave him curiosity to enquire into the Particulars of our

Story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our Advantage too than ordinary.

THIS Story, as I hop'd it would, did move him to a Sort of Tenderness, but yet he told us that his Master's Business must be done, and that he expected we must Work, as above; that he could not dispense with that, upon any Account whatever; accordingly to Work we went, and indeed we had three hard Things attending us; namely, we work'd hard, lodg'd hard, and far'd hard; the first I had been an utter Stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

DURING this Scene of Life, I had Time to reflect on my past Hours, and upon what I had done in the World; and tho' I had no great Capacity of making a clear Judgment, and very little Reflections from Conscience, yet it made some Impressions upon me; and particularly that I was brought into this miserable Condition of a Slave, by some strange directing Power, as a Punishment for the Wickedness of my younger Years, and this Thought was increas'd upon the following Occasion; The Master, whose Service I was now engag'd in, was a Man of Substance and Figure in the Country, and had abundance of Servants, as well *Negroes*, as *English*; in all I think he had near 200, and among so many, as some grew every Year infirm and unable to Work, others went off upon their Time being expir'd, and others died; and by these and other Accidents the Number would diminish, if they were not often recruited and fill'd, and this oblig'd him to buy more every Year.

It happen'd while I was here, that a Ship arrived from *London*, with several Servants, and among the rest was seventeen transported Felons, some burnt in the Hand,

others not; eight of whom my Master bought for the Time specified in the Warrant for their Transportation, respectively, some for a longer, some a shorter Term of Years.

OUR Master was a great Man in the Country, and a Justice of Peace, tho' he seldom came down to the Plantation where I was; yet as the new Servants were brought on Shore, and delivered at our Plantation, his Worship came thither, in a kind of State to see and receive them: When they were brought before him, I was call'd among other Servants, as a kind of Guard to take them into Custody, after he had seen them, and to carry them to the Work; they were brought by a Guard of Seamen from the Ship, and the second Mate of the Ship came with them, and deliver'd them to our Master, with the Warrant for their Transportation, as above.

WHEN his Worship had read over the Warrants, he call'd them over by their Names one by one, and having let them know, by his reading the Warrants over again to each Man respectively, that he knew for what Offences they were Transported; he talk'd to every one separately very gravely, let them know how much Favour they had receiv'd in being sav'd from the Gallows, which the Law had appointed for their Crimes, that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hang'd, and that Transportation was granted them upon their own Request and humble Petition.

THEN he laid before them, that they ought to look up-on the Life they were just a going to enter upon, as just beginning the World again; that if they thought fit to be diligent, and sober, they would, (after the Time they were order'd to serve was expir'd) be encourag'd by the Constitution of the Country, to settle and plant for themselves,

and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that if he liv'd to see any of them serve their Time faithfully out, it was his Custom to assist his Servants, in order to their settling in that Country, according as their Behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several Planters round about them, who now were in very good Circumstances, and who formerly were only his Servants, in the same Condition with them, and came from the same Place, (that is to say) *Newgate*; and some of them had the Mark of it in their Hands, but were now very honest Men, and liv'd in very good Repute.

AMONG the rest of his new Servants, he came to a young Fellow not above 17 or 18 Years of Age, and his Warrant mentioned that he was, tho' a young Man, yet an old Offender; that he had been several Times condemn'd but had been respited or pardon'd, but still he continued an incorrigible Pick-pocket; that the Crime, for which he was now Transported, was for picking a Merchant's Pocket-Book, or Letter-Case, out of his Pocket, in which was Bills of *Exchange*, for a very great Sum of Money; that he had afterwards receiv'd the Money upon some of the Bills; but that going to a Goldsmith in *Lombard-street* with another Bill, and having demanded the Money, he was stopp'd, Notice having been given of the Loss of them; that he was condemn'd to die for the Felony, and being so well known for an old Offender, had certainly died; but the Merchant, upon his earnest Application, had obtain'd that he should be Transported, on Condition that he restor'd all the rest of his Bills, which he had done accordingly.

OUR Master talk'd a long Time to this young Fellow; mention'd with some Surprize, that he so young should have follow'd such a wicked Trade so long, as to obtain the

Name of an old Offender, at so young an Age, and that he should be stil'd incorrigible, which is to signify, that notwithstanding his being whipt two or three Times, and several Times punish'd by Imprisonment, and once burnt in the Hand, yet nothing would do him any good; but that he was still the same: He talked mighty Religiously to this Boy, and told him, God had not only spar'd him from the Gallows, but had now mercifully deliver'd him from the Opportunity of committing the same Sin again, and put it into his Power to live an honest Life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and tho' some Part of his Life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more, than being put out Apprentice to an honest Trade, in which, when he came out of his Time, he might be able to set up for himself, and live honestly.

THEN he told him, that while he was a Servant, he would have no Opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself, he would have no Temptation to it; and so, after a great many other kind Things said to him, and the rest, they were dismiss'd.

I WAS exceedingly mov'd at this Discourse of our Master's, as any Body would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young Rogue, born a Thief, and bred up a Pick-pocket like myself; for I thought all my Master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my Head, that sure my Master was some extraordinary Man, and that he knew all Things that ever I had done in my Life.

BUT I was surpriz'd to the last Degree, when my Master dismissing all the rest of us Servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head Clerk, *Here! says he, bring that young Fellow hither to me.*

I HAD been near a Year in the Work, and I had ply'd it so well, that the Clerk, or head Man, either flatter'd me, or did really believe that I behav'd very well; but I was terribly frighted to hear myself call'd out aloud, just as they us'd to call for such as had done some Misdemeanor, and were to be lash'd, or otherwise corrected.

I CAME in like a Malefactor indeed, and thought I look'd like one just taken in the Fact, and carry'd before the Justice; and indeed when I came in, for I was carry'd into an inner Room, or Parlour in the House to him; his Discourse to the rest was in a large Hall, where he sat in a Seat like a Lord Judge upon the Bench, or a petty King upon his Throne.

WHEN I came in, (I say) he ordered his Man to withdraw, and I standing half naked and bare-headed, with my Haugh, or Hoe, in my Hand, (the Posture and Figure I was in at my work) near the Door, he bad me lay down my Hoe, and come nearer; then he began to look a little less stern and terrible than I fancy'd him to look before, or perhaps both his Countenance then, and before, might be to my Imagination, differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those Things by the real Temper of the Person, but by the Measure of our Apprehensions.

HARK ye young Man, How old are you? *Says my Master*, and so our Dialogue began.

Jack. Indeed Sir, I do not know.

Mast. What is your Name?

Jack. They call me CO L O N E L* here, but my Name is JACK, an't please your Worship.

* I was not call'd *Col. Jack*, as at *London*, but *Colonel*, and they did not know me by any other Name.

Mast. But prithee, what is thy Name?

Jack. Jack.

Mast. What is thy Christian Name then *Colonel*, and thy Surname *Jack*?

Jack. Truly Sir, to tell your Honour the Truth, I know little or nothing of myself, * nor what my true Name is; but thus I have been call'd ever since I remember; which is my Christian Name, or which my Sir-name, or whether I was ever Christen'd, or not, I cannot tell.

Mast. Well, however, that's honestly answer'd. Pray how came you hither, and on what Account are you made a Servant here?

Jack. I wish your Honour could have Patience with me, to hear the whole Story; it is the hardest, and most unjust Thing that ever came before you.

Mast. Say you so, tell it me at large then, I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an Hour long.

THIS encourag'd me, and I began at my being a Soldier, and being persuaded to desert at *Dunbar*, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the Time of my coming on Shore, and the Captain talking to me about my Bill after I arriv'd here: He held up his Hands several Times as I went on, expressing his Abhorrence of the Usage I had met with at *Newcastle*, and enquir'd the Name of the Master of the Ship; for, said he, that Captain, for all his smooth Words, must be a Rogue; so I told him his Name, and the Name of the Ship, and he took it down in his Book, and then we went on.

* Note, He did not now talk quite so blindly, and childishly, as when he was a Boy, and when the Custom-House Gentleman talked to him about his Names.

Mast. But pray answer me honestly too, to another Question, What was it made you so much concern'd at my talking to the Boy there, the Pick-Pocket?

Jack. An't please your Honour, it mov'd me, to hear you talk so kindly to a poor Slave.

Mast. And was that all, speak truly now?

Jack. No, indeed, but a secret Wish came into my Thoughts, that you that were so good to such a Creature as that, could but one Way or other know my Case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me, and do something for me.

Mast. Well, but was there nothing in his Case that hit with your own, that made you so affected with it, for I saw Tears come from your Eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you.

Jack. Indeed Sir, I have been a wicked idle Boy, and was left desolate in the World; but that Boy is a Thief, and condemn'd to be hang'd, I never was before a Court of Justice in my Life.

Mast. Well, I won't examine you too far, if you were never before a Court of Justice, and are not a Criminal transported, I have nothing farther to enquire of you: You have been ill used, that's certain, and was it that that affected you?

Jack. Yes indeed, please your * Honour [*we all call'd him his Honour, or his Worship.]

Mast. Well, now I do know your Case, What can I do for you?

Mast. You speak of a Bill of 94*l.* of which you would have given the Captain 40*l.* for your Liberty, Have you that Bill in your keeping still?

Jack. Yes Sir, *here it is, [*I pull'd it out of the Waist-

band of my Drawers, where I always found Means to preserve it, wrapp'd up in a Piece of Paper, and pin'd to the Waistband, and yet almost worn out too with often pinning, and removing, so I gave it to him to read, and he read it.]

Mast. And is this Gentleman in being that gave you the Bill?

Jack. Yes Sir, he was alive, and in good Health, when I came from *London*, which you may see by the Date of the Bill, for I came away the next Day.

Mast. I do not wonder that the Captain of the Ship was willing to get this Bill of you, when you came on Shore here.

Jack. I would have given it into his Possession, if he would have carried me and my Brother back again to *England*, and have taken what he ask'd for us out of it.

Mast. Ay, but he knew better than that too, he knew if you had any Friends there, they would call him to an Account for what he had done; but I wonder he did not take it from you while you were at Sea, either by Fraud or by Force.

Jack. He did not attempt that indeed.

Mast. Well, young Man, I have a Mind to try if I can do you any Service in this Case; on my Word, if the Money can be paid, and you can get it safe over, I might put you in a Way how to be a better Man than your Master, if you will be honest and diligent.

Jack. As I behave myself in your Service Sir, you will I hope judge of the rest.

Mast. But perhaps you hanker after returning to *England*.

Jack. No, indeed Sir, if I can but get my Bread honestly

here, I have no Mind to go to *England*; for I know not how to get my Bread there, if I had, I had not listed for a Soldier.

Mast. Well, but I must ask you some Questions about that Part hereafter; for 'tis indeed something strange that you should list for a Soldier, when you had 94*l.* in your Pocket.

Jack. I shall give your Worship as particular Account of that, as I have of the other Part of my Life, if you please, but 'tis very long.

Mast. Well, we will have that another Time; but to the Case in Hand, Are you willing I should send to any Body at *London*, to talk with that Gentleman that gave you the Bill; not to take the Money of him, but to ask him only whether he has so much Money of yours in his Hands? And whether he will part with it, when you shall give Order; and send the Bill, or a * *Duplicate* of it, * (*that is, says he, the Copy*) *and it was well he did say so, for I did not understand the Word* [Duplicate] *at all.*

Jack. Yes Sir, I will give you the Bill itself, if you please, I can trust it with you, tho' I cou'd not with him.

Mast. No, no, young Man, I won't take it from you.

Jack. I wish your Worship would please to keep it for me, for if I should lose it, then I am quite undone.

Mast. I will keep it for you *Jack*, if you will, but then you shall have a Note under my Hand, signifying that I have it, and will return it you upon Demand, which will be as safe to you as the Bill, I won't take it else.

So I gave my Master the Bill, and he gave me his Note for it, and he was a faithful Steward for me, as you will hear in its Place: After this Conference, I was dismissed, and went to my Work, but about two Hours after, the

Steward, or the Overseer of the Plantation, came riding by, and coming up to me, as I was at Work, pull'd a Bottle out of his Pocket, and calling me to him, gave me a Dram of Rum, when in good Manners I had taken but a little Sup, he held it out to me again, and bad me take another, and spoke wonderous civilly to me, quite otherwise than he us'd to do.

THIS encouraged me, and hearten'd me very much, but yet I had no particular View of any Thing, or which Way I should have any Relief.

A DAY or two after, when we were all going out to our Work in the Morning, the Overseer call'd me to him again, and gave me a Dram, and a good Piece of Bread, and bad me come off from my Work about One o'Clock, and come to him to the House, for he must speak with me.

WHEN I came to him, I came to be sure in the ordinary Habit of a poor half-naked Slave: Come hither young Man, says he, and give me your Hoe; when I gave it him, Well, says he, you are to work no more in this Plantation.

I LOOK'D surpriz'd, and as if I was frighted, What have I done, Sir, said I, and whither am I to be sent away?

NAY, nay, says he, and look'd very pleasantly, do not be frighted, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt you, I am order'd to make an Overseer of you, and you shall be a Slave no longer.

ALAS! says I to him, I an Overseer! I am in no Condition for it, I have no Cloaths to put on, no Linnen, nothing to help myself.

WELL, well, says he, you may be better us'd than you are aware of, come hither with me; so he led me into a vast great Ware-house, or rather Set of Ware-houses, one within

another, and calling the Warehouse-Keeper, here, says he, you must Cloath this Man, and give him every Thing necessary, upon the Foot of Number Five, and give the Bill to me, our Master has order'd me to allow it, in the Accompt of the West Plantation: That was, it seems, the Plantation where I was to go.

ACCORDINGLY, the Ware-house-Keeper carried me into an inner Ware-house, where were several Suits of Cloaths of the Sort his Orders mention'd; which were plain, but good Sorts of Cloaths ready made, being of a good Broad-Cloth, about 11 s. a Yard in *England*, and with this he gave me three good Shirts, two Pair of Shoes, Stockings and Gloves, a Hat, six Neckcloths, and in short, every Thing I could want; and when he had look'd every Thing out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little Room by itself; *here*, says he, *go in there a Slave, and come out a Gentleman*; and with that carried every Thing into the Room, and shutting the Door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe, that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

IN a little while after this, came the Overseer, and gave me Joy of my new Cloaths, and told me I must go with him; so I was carried to another Plantation, larger than that where I work'd before, and where there were two Overseers, or Clerks, one within Doors, and two without: This last was remov'd to another Plantation, and I was plac'd there in his Room, that is to say, as the Clerk without Doors, and my Business was to look after the Servants *Negroes*, and take Care that they did their Business, provide their food, and in short, both govern and direct them.

I WAS elevated to the highest Degree in my Thoughts, at this Advancement, and it is impossible for me to express

the Joy of my Mind upon this Occasion; but there came a Difficulty upon me, that shock'd me so violently, and went so against my very Nature, that I really had almost forfeited my Place about it; and in all Appearance, the Favour of our Master, who had been so generous to me; and this was, that when I entered upon my Office, I had a Horse given me, and a long Horse-whip, like what we call in *England* a Hunting-whip; the Horse was to ride up and down all over the Plantation, to see the Servants and *Negroes* did their Work, and the Plantation being so large, it could not be done on Foot, at least so often, and so effectually as was requir'd; and the Horse-whip was given me to correct and lash the Slaves and Servants, when they proved negligent, or quarrelsome, or in short were guilty of any Offence: This Part turn'd the very Blood within my Veins, and I could not think of it with any Temper; that I, who was but Yesterday a Servant or Slave like them, and under the Authority of the same Lash, should lift up my Hand to the cruel Work, which was my Terror but the Day before: This, I say, I cou'd not do; insomuch, that the *Negroes* perceiv'd it, and I had soon so much Contempt upon my Authority, that we were all in Disorder.

THE Ingratitude of their Return, for the Compassion I shew'd them, provok'd me, I confess, and a little harden'd my Heart, and I began with the *Negroes*, two of whom I was oblig'd to correct; and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I had lash'd them, till every Blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the Work, the Rogues laugh'd at me, and one of them had the Impudence to say behind my Back, that if he had the Whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a *Negroe*.

WELL, however, I had no Power to do it in such a bar-

barous Manner, as I found it was necessary to have it done; and the Defect began to be a Detriment to our Master's Business, and now I began indeed to see, that the Cruelty, so much talk'd of, used in *Virginia* and *Barbadoes*, and other Colonies, in whipping the *Negroe* Slaves, was not so much owing to the Tyranny, and Passion, and Cruelty of the *English*, as had been reported; the *English* not being accounted to be of a cruel Disposition, and really are not so; But that it is owing to the Brutality, and obstinate Temper of the *Negroes*, who cannot be manag'd by Kindness, and Courtesy; but must be rul'd with a Rod of Iron, beaten with *Scorpions*, as the Scripture calls it; and must be used as they do use them, or they would rise and murder all their Masters, which their Numbers consider'd, would not be hard for them to do, if they had Arms and Ammunition suitable to the Rage and Cruelty of their Nature.

BUT I began to see at the same Time, that this brutal Temper of the *Negroes* was not rightly manag'd; that they did not take the best Course with them, to make them sensible, either of Mercy or Punishment; and it was evident to me, that even the worst of those Tempers might be brought to a Compliance, without the Lash, or at least without so much of it, as they generally inflicted.

OUR Master was really a Man of Humanity himself, and was sometimes so full of Tenderness, that he would forbid the Severities of his Overseers and Stewards; but he saw the Necessity of it, and was oblig'd at last to leave it to the Discretion of his upper Servants; yet he would often bid them be Merciful, and bid them consider the Difference of the Constitution of the Bodies of the *Negroes*; some being less able to bear the Tortures of their Punish-

ment than others, and some of them less obstinate too than others.

HOWEVER, some Body was so officious as to inform him against me upon this Occasion, and let him know, that I neglected his Affairs, and that the Servants were under no Government; by which Means his Plantation was not duly manag'd, and that all Things were in Disorder.

THIS was a heavy Charge for a young Overseer, and his Honour came like a Judge, with all his Attendants, to look into Things, and hear the Cause: However, he was so just to me, as that before he censur'd me, he resolv'd to hear me fully, and that not only publickly, but in private too; and the last Part of this was my particular good Fortune, for as he had formerly allow'd me to speak to him with Freedom, so I had the like Freedom now, and had full Liberty to explain and defend myself.

I KNEW nothing of the Complaint against me, till I had it from his own Mouth; nor any Thing of his coming, till I saw him in the very Plantation, viewing his Work, and viewing the several Pieces of Ground that were order'd to be new Planted; and after he had rode all round, and seen Things in the Condition, which they were to be seen in; how every Thing was in its due Order, and the Servants and *Negroes* were all at Work, and every Thing appearing to his Mind, he went into the House.

As I saw him come up the Walks, I ran towards him, and made my Homage, and gave him my humble Thanks for the Goodness he had shew'd me, in taking me from the miserable Condition I was in before, and employing and entrusting me in his Business; and he look'd pleasant enough, tho' he did not say much at first, and I attended him thro' the whole Plantation, gave him an Account of

every Thing as he went along, answer'd all his Objections and Enquiries, every where in such a Manner, as it seems, he did not expect: And, as he acknowledg'd afterward, every Thing was very much to his Satisfaction.

THERE was an Overseer, as I observ'd, belonging to the same Plantation, who was, tho' not over me, yet in a Work superior to mine; for his Business was to see the *Tobacco* pack'd up, and deliver it either on Board the Sloops, or otherwise, as our Master order'd, and to receive *English* Goods from the grand Warehouse, which was at the other Plantation, because that was nearest the Water-side; and in short, to keep the Accompts: This Overseer, an honest and upright Man, made no Complaint to him of his Business being neglected, as above, or of any Thing like it, tho' he enquir'd of him about it, and that very strictly too.

I SHOULD have said, that as he rid over the Plantation, he came in his Round to the Place where the Servants were usually corrected, when they had done any Fault; and there stood two *Negroes* with their Hands tied behind them, as it were under Sentence; and when he came near them, they fell on their Knees, and made pitiful Signs to him for Mercy: Alas! Alas! says he, turning to me, why did you bring me this Way? I do not love such Sights, what must I do now? I must pardon them; prithee, what have they done? I told him the particular Offences, which they were brought to the Place for; one had stole a Bottle of Rum, and had made himself drunk with it, and when he was drunk, had done a great many mad Things, and had attempted to knock one of the white Servants Brains out with a Hand-spike; but that the white Man had avoided the Blow, and striking up the *Negroe's* Heels, had seiz'd him, and brought him Prisoner thither, where he had lain

all Night; and that I had told him he was to be whipp'd that Day, and the next three Days, twice every Day.

AND could you be so cruel, (says his Honour) why, you will kill the poor Wretch! and so beside the Blood which you would have to answer for, you would lose me a lusty Man *Negroe*, which cost me at least 30 or 40*l.* and bring a Reproach upon my whole Plantation; nay, and more than that, some of them in Revenge would murder me, if ever it was in their Power.

SIR, says I, if those Fellows are not kept under by Violence, I believe you are satisfied, nothing is to be done with them; and it is reported in your Works, that I have been rather their Jest, than their Terror, for want of using them as they deserve; and I was resolv'd, how much soever it is against my own Disposition, that your Service should not suffer for my unseasonable Forbearance; and therefore, if I had scourg'd him to Death:—Hold, says he, no, no, by no Means, any such Severity in my Bounds, remember, young Man, you were once a Servant, deal as you would acknowledge it would be just to deal with you in his Case, and mingle always some Mercy; I desire it, and let the Consequence of being too gentle be plac'd to my Account.

THIS was as much as I cou'd desire, and the more, because what pass'd was in Publick, and several, both *Negroes* and white Servants, as well as the particular Persons who had accused me, heard it all, tho' I did not know it: A cruel Dog of an Overseer, says one of the white Servants behind, he would have whipp'd poor *Bullet-Head* (so they call'd the *Negroe* that was to be punish'd) to Death, if his Honour had not happen'd to come to Day.

HOWEVER, I urg'd the notorious Crime this Fellow was

guilty of, and the Danger there was in such Forbearance, from the refractory and incorrigible Temper of the *Negroes*, and press'd a little the Necessity of making Examples; but he said, well, well, do it the next Time, but not so, I said no more.

THE other Fellow's Crime was trifling, compar'd with this; and the Master went forward, talking of it to me, and I following him, till we came to the House; when after he had sat down a while, he call'd me to him: And not suffer-ing my Accusers to come near, till he had heard my De-fence, he began with me thus.

Mast. Hark ye, young Man, I must have some Dis-course with you: Your Conduct is complain'd of, since I set you over this Plantation; I thought your Sense of the Obligation I had laid on you, would have secur'd your Diligence and Faithfulness to me.

Jack. I am very sorry any Complaint should be made of me, because the Obligation I am under to your Honour, (and which I freely confess) does bind me to your Interest in the strongest Manner imaginable; and however, I may have mistaken my Business, I am sure I have not willingly neglected it.

Mast. Well, I shall not condemn you, without hearing you, and therefore I call'd you in now, to tell you of it.

Jack. I humbly thank your Honour, I have but one Petition more, and that is, that I may know my Accusa-tion, and if you please my Accusers.

Mast. The first you shall, and that is the Reason of my talking to you in private; and if there is any need of a far-ther Hearing, you shall know your Accusers too: What you are charg'd with, is just contrary to what appear'd to me just now, and therefore you and I must come to a new

Understanding about it; for I thought I was too cunning for you, and now I think you have been too cunning for me.

Jack. I hope your Honour will not be offended, that I do not fully understand you.

Mast. I believe you do not; come tell me honestly, did you really intend to whip the poor *Negroe* twice a Day, for four Days together; that is to say, to whip him to Death, for that would have been the *English* of it, and the End of it.

Jack. If I may be permitted to guess Sir, I believe I know the Charge that is brought against me; and that your Honour has been told, that I have been too gentle with the *Negroes*, as well as with other Servants; and that when they deserv'd to be us'd with the accustom'd Severity of the Country, I have not given them half enough; and that by this Means they are careless of your Business, and that your Plantation is not well look'd after, and the like.

Mast. Well, you guess right, go on.

Jack. The first Part of the Charge I confess, but the last I deny; and appeal to your Honour's strictest Examination into every Part of it.

Mast. If the last Part could be true, I would be glad the first were; for it would be an infinite Satisfaction to me, that my Business not being neglected, nor our Safety endanger'd, those poor Wretches cou'd be us'd with more Humanity, for Cruelty is the Aversion of my Nature, and it is the only uncomfortable Thing that attends me in all my Prosperity.

Jack. I freely acknowledge Sir, that at first it was impossible for me to bring myself to that terrible Work: How could I, that was but just come out of the Terror of it myself, and had but the Day before been a poor naked miserable Servant myself, and might be To-morrow re-

duc'd to the same Condition again; how could I use this * terrible Weapon on the naked Flesh of my Fellow-Servants, as well as Fellow-Creatures? At least, Sir, when my Duty made it absolutely necessary, I cou'd not do it without the utmost Horror: I beseech you pardon me, if I have such a Tenderness in my Nature, that tho' I might be fit to be your Servant, I am incapable of being an Executioner, having been an Offender myself.

Mast. Well, but how then can my Business be done? And how will this terrible Obstinyacy of the *Negroes*, who, they tell me, can be no otherwise governed, be kept from Neglect of their Work, or even Insolence and Rebellion?

Jack. This brings me, Sir, to the latter Part of my Defence; and here, I hope your Honour will be pleased to call my Accusers, or that you will give yourself the Trouble of taking the exactest View of your Plantation, and see, or let them shew you, if any Thing is neglected, if your Business has suffer'd in any Thing, or if your *Negroes* or other Servants are under less Government than they were before; and if on the contrary, I have found out that happy Secret, to have good Order kept, the Business of the Plantation done, and that with Diligence and Dispatch; and that the *Negroes* are kept in Awe, the natural Temper of them subjected, and the Safety and Peace of your Family secur'd; as well by gentle Means, as by rough, by moderate Correction, as by Torture and Barbarity; by a due Awe of just Discipline, as by the Horror of unsufferable Torments, I hope your Honour will not lay that Sin to my Charge.

Mast. No indeed, you would be the most acceptable

*Here he shew'd him the Horse-whip that was given him with his new Office.

Manager that ever I employ'd; but how then does this consist with the cruel Sentence you had pass'd on the poor Fellow, that is in your condemn'd Holeyonder, who was to be whipp'd eight times in four Days.

Jack. Very well Sir, first Sir, he remains under the terrible Apprehensions of a Punishment, so severe, as no Negroe ever had before; this Fellow, with your Leave, I intended to release To-morrow, without any Whipping at all, after talking to him in my Way about his Offence, and raising in his Mind a Sense of the Value of Pardon; and if this makes him a better Servant than the severest Whipping will do, then I presume you would allow, I have gained a Point.

Mast. Ay, but what if it should not be so, for these Fellows have no Sense of Gratitude?

Jack. That is Sir, because they are never pardon'd, if they offend they never know what Mercy is, and what then have they to be grateful for?

Mast. Thou art in the right indeed, where there is no Mercy shew'd, there is no Obligation laid upon them.

Jack. Besides Sir, if they have at any Time been let go, which is very seldom, they are not told what the Case is; they take no Pains with them to imprint Principles of Gratitude on their Minds, to tell them what Kindness is shewn them, and what they are indebted for it, and what they might gain in the End by it.

Mast. But do you think such Usage would do? Would it make any Impression? You perswade your self it would, but you see 'tis against the received Notion of the whole Country.

Jack. There are it may be, publick and National Mistakes and Errors in Conduct, and this is one.

Mast. Have you try'd it? You cannot say it is a Mistake till you have try'd and prov'd it to be so.

Jack. Your whole Plantation is a Proof of it. This very Fellow had never acted as he did, if he had not gotten Rum in his Head, and been out of the Government of himself; so that indeed all the Offence I ought to have punish'd him for, had been that of stealing a Bottle of Rum, and drinking it all up; in which Case, like *Noah*, he did not know the Strength of it, and when he had it in his Head, he was a Mad-man, he was as one raging and distracted; so that for all the rest he deserv'd Pity rather than Punishment.

Mast. Thou art right, certainly right, and thou wilt be a rare Fellow if thou canst bring these Notions into Practice; I wish'd you had try'd it upon any one particular *Negroe*, that I might see an Example, I would give 500*l.* it could be brought to bear.

Jack. I desire nothing Sir, but your Favour, and the Advantage of obliging you, I will show you an Example of it, among your own *Negroe's*, and all the Plantation will acknowledge it.

Mast. You make my very Heart glad within me *Jack*, if you can bring this to pass, I here give you my Word, I'll not only give you your own Freedom, but make a Man of you for this World as long as you live.

UPON this I bow'd to him very respectfully, and told him the following Story. There is a *Negroe* Sir, in your Plantation, who has been your Servant several Years before I came, he did a Fault that was of no great Consequence in it self, but perhaps would have been worse, if they had indeed gone farther, and I had him brought into the usual Place, and ty'd him by the Thumbs for Correct-

ion, and he was told that he should be whipp'd and pickl'd in a dreadful manner.

AFTER I had made proper Impressions on his Mind, of the Terror of his Punishment, and found that he was sufficiently humbled by it, I went into the House, and caused him to be brought out, just as they do when they go to correct the *Negroes* on such Occasions; when he was stripp'd and ty'd up, he had two Lashes given him, that were indeed very cruel ones, and I call'd to them to hold, Hold, said I, to the two Men that had just began to lay on upon the poor Fellow, Hold said I, let me talk with him.

So he was taken down, then I began, and represented to him how kind you, that were his * Great Master had been to him; that you had never done him any Harm, that you had used him gently, and he had never been brought to this Punishment in so many Year, tho' he had done some Faults before; that this was a notorious Offence, for he had stolen some Rum, and made himself and two other *Negroes* drunk, † mad, and had abus'd two Women *Negroes* who had Husbands in our Master's Service, but in another Plantation; and play'd several other Pranks, and for this I had appointed him this Punishment.

He shook his Head, and made Signs that he was *muchee sorree*, as he call'd it, and what will you say or do, said I, if I should prevail with the Great Master to pardon you? I have a Mind to go and see if I can beg for you: He told

* So the *Negroes* call the Owner of the Plantation, or at least so they call'd him, because he was a great Man in the Country, having three or four large Plantations.

† To be drunk in a *Negroe*, is to be Mad, for when they get Rum they are worse than raving, and fit to do any manner of Mischief.

me he would lie down, let me kill him, me will, says he, run, go, fetch, bring for you as long as me live: This was the Opportunity I had a Mind to have, to try whether as *Negroes* have all the other Faculties of reasonable Creatures, they had not also some Sense of Kindness, some Principles of natural Generosity, which in short, is the Foundation of Gratitude; for Gratitude is the Product of generous Principles.

You please me with the beginning of this Story, says he, I hope you have carried it on.

YES Sir, says I, it has been carried on farther perhaps than you imagine, or will think has been possible in such a Case.

BUT I was not so arrogant as to assume the Merit to my self; No, no, said I, I do not ask you to go or run for me, you must do all that for our Great Master, for it will be from him entirely that you will be pardon'd, if you are pardon'd at all; for your Offence is against him, and what will you say, will you be grateful to him, and run, go, fetch, bring, for him as long as you live, as you have said you would for me.

YES indeed, says he, and *muchee do, muchee do, for you too* (he would not leave me out) *you ask him for me.*

WELL, I put off all his promis'd Gratitude to me from my self, as was my Duty, and plac'd it to your Account, told him I knew you was *muchee good, muchee pitiful*, and I would perswade you if I could; and so told him I would go to you, and he should be Whipp'd no more till I came again; but hark ye, *Mouchat*, says I, that was the *Negroe's* Name, they tell me when I came hither, that there is no showing Kindness to any of you *Negroes*, that when we spare you from Whipping you laugh at us, and are the worse.

He look'd very serious at me, and said, O, that no so, the Masters say so, but no be so, no be so, indeede, indeede, and so we partly'd.

Jack. Why do they say so then? To be sure they have tried you all.

Negroe. No, no, they no try, they say so, but no trye.

Jack. I hear them all say so.

Negroe. Me tell you the True, they have no Merciee, they beat us cruel, all cruel, they never have show Mercie. How can they tell we be no better?

Jack. What do they never spare?

Negroe. Master, me speakee the True, they never give Merciee, they always whippee, lashee, knockee down, all cruel: *Negroe* be muchee better Man, do muchee better Work, but they tell us no Merciee.

Jack. But what, do they never show any Mercy?

Negroe. No, never, no never, all whipee, all whipee, cruel, worse than they whippee de Horse, whippee de Dog.

Jack. But would they be better if they did?

Negroe. Yes, yes, *Negroe* be muchee better if they be Mercie; when they Whippree, Whippree, *Negroe* muchee cry, muchee hate, would kill if they had de Gun; but when they makee de Merciee, then *Negroe* tell de great Tankee, and love to Worke, and do muchee Worke; and because be good Master to them.

Jack. They say no, you would laugh at them, and mock when they shew Mercy.

Negroe. How! they say when they shew Merciee, they never shew Merciee, me never see them shew one Mercie since me live.

Now Sir, said I, if this be so, really they go, I dare say, contrary to your Inclination; for I see you are but too full

of Pity for the miserable; I saw it in my own Case, and upon a Presumption, that you had rather have your Work done from a Principle of Love, than Fear, without making your Servants bleed for every Trifle, if it were possible; I say, upon this Presumption, I dealt with this *Mouchat*, as you shall hear.

Mast. I have never met with any Thing of this Kind since I have been a Planter; which is now above 40 Year, I am delighted with the Story, go on, I expect a pleasant Conclusion.

Jack. The Conclusion Sir, will be I believe as much to your Satisfaction as the Beginning; for it every Way answer'd my Expectation, and will yours also; and shew you how you might be faithfully serv'd if you pleas'd, for 'tis certain you are not so serv'd now.

Mast. No indeed, they serve me but just as they do the Devil, for Fear I should hurt them; but 'tis contrary to an ingenious Spirit to delight in such Service, I abhor it, if I could but know how to get any other.

Jack. It is easy Sir, to shew you, that you may be serv'd upon better Principles, and consequently be better serv'd, and more to your Satisfaction; and I dare undertake to convince you of it.

Mast. Well, go on with the Story.

Jack. After I had talk'd thus to him, I said, well *Mouchat*, I shall see how you will be afterward; if I can get our Great Master to be merciful to you at this Time.

Negroe. Yes, you shall see, you muchee see, muchee see.

UPON this, I call'd for my Horse, and went from him, and made as if I rode away to you, who they told me was in the next Plantation, and having staid four or five Hours,

I came back and talk'd to him again; told him that I had waited on you, and that you had heard of his Offence, was highly provok'd, and had resolv'd to cause him to be severely punish'd for an Example to all the *Negroes* in the Plantation; but that I had told you how penitent he was, and how good he would be if you would pardon him; and had at last prevail'd on you: That you had told me what all People said of the *Negroes*; how, that to shew them Mercy, was to make them think you were never in earnest with them, and that you did but trifle and play with them: However, that I had told you what he had said of himself, and that it was not true of the *Negroes*, and that the White Men said it, but that they could not know, because they did never shew any Mercy; and therefore had never tried: That I had persuaded you to shew Mercy, to try whether Kindness would prevail as much as Cruelty; and now *Mouchat*, said I, you will be let go, pray let our Great Master see that I have said true; so I order'd him to be untied, gave him a Dram of Rum out of my Pocket Bottle, and order'd them to give him some Victuals.

WHEN the Fellow was let loose, he came to me, and kneel'd down to me, and took hold of my Legs and of my Feet, and laid his Head upon the Ground, and sobb'd and cried like a Child that had been corrected, but could not speak for his Life; and thus he continu'd a long Time: I would have taken him up, but he would not rise, but I cried as fast as he, for I could not bear to see a poor Wretch lie on the Ground to me, that was but a Servant the other Day like himself; at last, but not till a quarter of an Hour, I made him get up, and then he spoke. Me muchee know good Great Master, muchee good you Master: No *Negroe* unthankful, me dye for them, do me so muchee kind.

I DISMISS'D him then, and bid him go to his Wife, for he was marry'd, and not Work that Afternoon; but as he was going away, I call'd him again, and talk'd thus to him.

Now *Mouchat* says I, you see the White Men can shew Mercy: Now you must tell all the *Negroes* what has been reported of them, that they regard nothing but the Whip; that if they are used gently they are the worse, not the better; and that this is the Reason why the White Men shew them no Mercy, and convince them, that they would be much better treated, and used kindlier if they would shew themselves as grateful for kind Usage, as humble after Torment, and see if you can work on them.

ME go, me go, says he, me muchee talk to them, they be muchee glad as me be, and do great Work, to be used kind by de Great Master.

Mast. Well, but now what Testimony have you of this Gratitude you speak of? Have you seen any Alteration among them?

Jack. I come next to that Part Sir: About a Month after this, I caused a Report to be spread abroad in the Plantation, that I had offended you the Great Master, and that I was turn'd out of the Plantation, and was to be hang'd; your Honour knows that some Time ago, you sent me upon your particular Business into *Potuxent* River, where I was absent 12 Days, then I took the Opportunity to have this Report spread about among the *Negroes*, to see see how it would work.

Mast. What? To see how *Mouchat* would take it.

Jack. Yes Sir, and it made a Discovery indeed; the poor Fellow did not believe it presently, but finding I was still absent, he went to the Head Clerk, and standing at his Door, said nothing, but look'd like a Fool of 10 Year old;

after some time, the upper Overseer came out, and seeing him stand there, at first said nothing, supposing he had been sent of some Errand; but observing him to stand stock still, and that he was in the same Posture and Place, during the Time that he had passed and repassed two or three Times, he stops short the last Time of his coming by, What do you want, says he to him, that you stand idle here so long?

ME speakee, me tell something, says he.

THEN the Overseer thought some Discovery was at Hand, and began to listen to him, What would you tell me, says he?

ME tell, pray, says he, Where be de other Master?

HE meant, he would ask where he was; What other Master do you mean, says the Clerk? What do you want to speak with the Great Master? He can't be spoke by you; pray what is your Business, cannot you tell it to me?

No, no, me no speakee, the great Master, the other Master, says *Mouchat*.

WHAT, the Colonel, says the Clerk?

Yes, yes, the Colonel, says he.

WHY don't you know that he is to be hang'd To-morrow, says the Clerk, for making the Great Master angry.*

Yes, yes, says *Mouchat*, me know, me know, but me won't speak, me tell something.

WELL, What would you say, says the Clerk?

O! me no, let him makee de Great Master angry, with that he kneel'd down to the Clerk.

WHAT ails you? says the Clerk, I tell you he must be hang'd.

* Note, He understood the Plot, and took the Opportunity to tell him that, to see what he would say.

No, no, says he, no hang de Master, me kneel for him to Great Master.

You † kneel for him! says the Clerk, What do you think the Great Master will mind you? He has made the Great Master angry, and must be hang'd, I tell you, what signifies your begging.

Negroe. O! me pray, me pray the Great Master for him.

Clerk. Why, what ails you, that you would pray for him?

Negroe. O! he beggee the Great Master for me, now me beggee for him; the Great Master muchee good, muchee good, he pardon me when the other Master beggee me; now he pardon him, when me beggee for him again.

Clerk. No, no, your begging won't do; will you be hang'd for him? If you do that, something may be.

Negroe. Yes, yes, me be hang for de poor Master that beggee for me, *Mouchat* shall hang, the great Master shall hangee mee, whippee mee, any Thing to save the poor Master that beggee me, yes, yes, indeed.

Clerk. Are you in earnest *Mouchat*?

Negroe. Yes indeed, me tellee de True, the great Master shall know me tellee de True, for he shall see the White Man hangee me *Mouchat*, poor *Negroe Mouchat* will be hangee, be whippee, any Thing for the poor Master that beggee for me.

WITH this the poor Fellow cried most pitifully, and there was no room to question his being in earnest; when on a sudden I appear'd, for I was fetch'd to see all this Transaction: I was not in the House at first but was just come Home from the Business you sent me of, and heard

† He understood him, he meant he would beg your Honour for me, that I might not be hang'd for offending you.

it all, and indeed neither the Clerk nor I could bear it any longer; so he came out to me, go to him, says he, you have made an Example that will never be forgot, that a *Negroe* can be grateful; go to him, adds he, for I can talk to him no longer; so I appear'd, and spoke to him presently, and let him see that I was at Liberty; but to hear how the poor Fellow behav'd, your Honour cannot but be pleas'd.

Master. Prithee go on, I am pleased with it all, 'tis all a new Scene of *Negroe* Life to me, and very moving.

Jack. For a good while he stood as if he had been Thunder-struck and stupid; but looking steadily at me, tho' not speaking a Word, at last he mutters to himself with a kind of a Laugh, Ay, ay, says he, *Mouchat* see, *Mouchat* no see, me wakee, me no wakee; no hangee, no hangee, he live truly, very live; and then on a sudden he runs to me, snatches me away as if I had been a Boy of 10 Years old, and takes me up upon his Back, and run away with me, till I was fain to cry out to him to stop; then he sets me down, and looks at me again, then falls a Dancing about me, as if he had been bewitch'd, just as you have seen them do about their Wives and Children when they are merry.

W E L L, then he began to talk with me, and told me what they had said to him, how I was to be hang'd; well, says I, *Mouchat*, and would you have been satisfied to be hang'd to save me; yes, yes, says he, be truly hangee, to beggee you.

B U T why do you love me so well *Mouchat*? said I.

D I D you no beggee me, he says, at the great Master? You savee me, make great Master muchee good, muchee kind, nowhippee me, me no forget, me be whip'd, be hang'd, that you no be hang'd, me dye, that you no dye, me no let any bad be with you, all while that me live.

Now, Sir, your Honour may judge, whether Kindness well manag'd, would not oblige these People as well as Cruelty; and whether there are Principles of Gratitude in them or no?

Master. But what then can be the Reason that we never believ'd it to be so before?

Jack. Truly, Sir, I fear that *Mouchat* gave the true Reason.

Master. What was that pray? that we were too cruel.

Jack. That they never had any Mercy shew'd them; that we never tried them whether they would be grateful or no; that if they did a Fault, they were never spar'd, but punished with the utmost Cruelty; so that they had no Passion, no Affection to act upon, but that of Fear, which necessarily brought Hatred with it; but that if they were used with Compassion, they would serve with Affection as well as other Servants: Nature is the same, and Reason governs in just Proportions in all Creatures; but having never been let Taste what Mercy is, they know not how to act from a Principle of Love.

Master. I am convinc'd it is so; but now, pray tell me, how did you put this in Practice with the poor *Negroe's* now in Bonds yonder, when you passed such a cruel Sentence upon them, that they should be whip'd twice a Day, for four Days together, was that shewing Mercy?

Jack. My Method was just the same, and if you please to enquire of Mr. —— your other Servant, you will be satisfied that it was so; for we agreed upon the same Measures as I took with *Mouchat*; namely, first to put them into the utmost Horror and Apprehensions of the cruelest Punishment they had ever heard of, and thereby enhance the Value of their Pardon, which was to come as

from your self, but not without our great Intercession: Then I was to argue with them, and work upon their Reason, to make the Mercy that was shew'd them sink deep into their Minds, and give lasting Impressions, explain the Meaning of Gratitude to them, and the Nature of an Obligation, and the like, as I had done with *Mouchat*.

Master. I am answer'd, your Method is certainly right, and I desire you may go on with it, for I desire nothing (on this side Heaven) more, than to have all my *Negroes* serve me from Principles of Gratitude, for my Kindness to them: I abhor to be fear'd like a Lion, like a Tyrant, it is a Violence upon Nature every way, and is the most disagreeable Thing in the World to a generous Mind.

Jack. But Sir, I am doubtful that you may not believe that I intended to act thus with those poor Fellows; I beseech you to send for Mr. —, that he may tell you what we had agreed on before I speak with him.

Master. What Reason have I to doubt that?

Jack. I hope you have not, but I should be very sorry you should think me capable of executing such a Sentence as you have heard me own, I had passed on them; and there can be no Way effectually to clear it up but this.

Master. Well, seeing you put so much Weight upon it, he shall be * call'd for.

Jack. I hope, Sir, you are now, not only satisfied of the Truth of the Account I gave, relating to the Method we had agreed on; but of its being so proper, and so likely to answer your End.

* He was called, and being order'd by the Master to tell the Measures that were concert'd between them, for the Punishment or Management of those *Negroes*, he gave it just as *Jack* had done before.

Master. I am fully satisfied, and shall be glad to see that it answers the End; for, as I have said, nothing can be more agreeable to me, nothing has so much robb'd me of the Comfort of all my Fortunes, as the Cruelty used in my Name, on the Bodies of those poor Slaves.

Jack. It is certainly wrong, Sir, it is not only wrong, as it is barbarous and cruel; but it is wrong too, as it is the worst Way of managing, and of having your Business done.

Master. It is my Aversion, it fills my very Soul with Horror, I believe if I should come by while they were using those Cruelties on the poor Creatures, I should either sink down at the Sight of it, or fly into a Rage and kill the Fellow that did it; tho' it is done too by my own Authority.

Jack. But, Sir, I dare say, I shall convince you also that it is wrong, in Respect of Interest; and that your Business shall be better discharg'd, and your Plantations better order'd, and more Work done by the *Negroes*, who shall be engag'd by Mercy and Lenity, than by those who are driven and dragg'd by the Whips and the Chains of a merciless Tormentor.

Master. I think the Nature of the Thing speaks it self, doubtless it should be so, and I have often thought it would be so, and a Thousand Times wish'd it might be so; but all my *English* people pretend otherwise, and that it is impossible to bring the *Negroes* to any Sense of Kindness, and consequently not to any Obedience of Love.

Jack. It may be true, Sir, that there may be found here and there a *Negroe* of a senseless, stupid, sordid Disposition, perfectly untractable, undocile, and incapable of due Impressions; especially incapable of the Generosity of

Principle which I am speaking of: You know very well, Sir, there are such among the Christians, as well as among the *Negroes*, whence else came the English Proverb; *That if you save a Thief from the Gallows, he shall be the first to cut your Throat*. But, Sir, if such a refractory, undocible Fellow comes in our Way, he must be dealt with, first, by the smooth Ways to try him, then by the violent Way to break his Temper, as they break a Horse; and if nothing will do, such a Wretch should be sold off, and others bought in his Room; for the Peace of the Plantation should not be broken for one devilish temper'd Fellow, and if this was done, I doubt not, you should have all your Plantation carried on, and your Work done, and not a *Negroe* or a Servant upon it, but what would not only Work for you, but even die for you, if there was an Occasion for it, as you see this poor *Mouchat* would have done for me.

Master. Well, go on with your Measures, and may you succeed, I'll promise you I will fully make you Amends for it; I long to have these Cruelties out of Use, in my Plantation especially, as for others, let them do as they will.

OUR Master being gone, I went to the Prisoners, and first, I suffer'd them to be told that the great Master had been there, and that he had been enclin'd to pardon them, till he knew what their Crime was; but then he said it was so great a Fault that it must be punished: Besides, the Man that talk'd to them, told them, that the great Master said, that he knew if he had pardon'd them they would but be the worse, for that the *Negroes* were never thankful for being spar'd, and that there were no other Ways to make them obedient, but by Severity.

ONE of the poor Fellows, more sensible than the other, answered, if any *Negroe* be bader for kindly used, they

should be whipped till they were muchee better, but that he never knew that, for that he never knew the *Negroe* be kindly use.

THIS was the same Thing as the other had said, and indeed, was but too true, for the Overseers really knew no such Thing as Mercy; and that Notion of the *Negroes* being no other Way to be govern'd but by Cruelty, had been the Occasion, that no other Method was ever tried among them.

AGAIN, if a slack Hand has at any Time been held upon them, it had not been done with Discretion, or as a Point of Mercy, and manag'd with the Assistance of Argument to convince the *Negroes* of the Nature and Reason of it, and to shew them what they ought to do in Return for it: But it was perhaps the Effect of Negligence, ill Conduct, and want of Application to the Business of the Plantation; and then 'twas no wonder that the *Negroes* took the Advantage of it.

WELL, I carried on the affair with these two *Negroes*, just as I did with *Mouchat*, so I need not repeat the Particulars, and they were deliver'd with infinite Acknowledgements and Thanks, even to all the Extravagancies of Joy usual in those People on such Occasion; and such was the Gratitude of those two pardon'd Fellows, that they were the most faithful, and most diligent Servants ever after, that belong'd to the whole Plantation, *Mouchat* excepted.

In this Manner I carried on the Plantation fully to his Satisfaction; and before a Year more was expir'd, there was scarce any such Thing as Correction known in the Plantation, except upon a few Boys who were incapable of the Impressions that good Usage would have made, even upon them too, till they had liv'd to know the Difference..

IT was some Time after this Conference, that our great Master, as we call'd him, sent for me again to his Dwelling-house, and told me he had had an answer from *England* from his Friend, to whom he had written about my Bill: I was a little afraid that he was going to ask me Leave to send it to *London*; but he did not say any Thing like that, but told me that his Friend had been with the Gentleman, and that he own'd the Bill, and that he had all the Money in his Hand that the Bill had mention'd; but that he had promised the young Man that had given him the Money, (meaning me) not to pay the Money to any Body but himself, tho' they should bring the Bill; the Reason of which was, that I did not know who might get the Bill away from me.

BUT now, Colonel *Jack*, says he, as you wrote him an Account where you was, and by what wicked Arts you were trapann'd; and that it was impossible for you to have your Liberty till you cou'd get the Money: My Friend at *London* has written to me, that upon making out a due Copy of the Bill here, attested by a Notary, and sent to him, and your Obligation likewise attested, whereby you oblige yourself to deliver the Original to his Order, after the Money is paid, he will pay the Money.

I TOLD him I was willing to do whatever his Honour directed; and so the proper Copies were drawn, as I had been told were requir'd.

BUT now, what will you do with this Money, *Jack*? says he smiling, will you buy your Liberty of me and go to planting?

I WAS too cunning for him now indeed, for I remember'd what he had promised me; and I had too much Knowledge of the Honesty of his Principles, as well as of the Kindness

he had for me, to doubt his being as good as his Word; so I turn'd all this Talk of his upon him another Way: I knew that when he ask'd me if I would buy my Liberty and go to planting, it was to try if I would leave him; so I said, as to buying my Liberty, Sir, that it is to say, going out of your Service, I had much rather buy more Time in your Service, and I am only unhappy that I have but two Year to serve.

COME, come, Colonel says he, don't flatter me, I love plain Dealing, Liberty is precious to every Body; if you have a Mind to have your Money brought over, you shall have your Liberty to begin for your self, and I will take Care you shall be well used by the Country, and get you a good Plantation.

I STILL insisted that I would not quit his Service for the best Plantation in *Maryland*; that he had been so good to me, and I believ'd I was so useful to him, that I cou'd not think of it; and at last I added, I hop'd he cou'd not believe but I had as much Gratitude as a *Negroe*.

He smil'd, and said, he would not be serv'd upon those Terms; that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his Plantation; and that he was resolv'd in the first Place to give me my Liberty, so he pulls out a Piece of Paper, and throws it to me; there, says he, there's a Certificate of your coming on Shore, and being sold to me for five Years, of which you have liv'd three with me, and now you are your own Master.

I bow'd, and told him, that I was sure if I was my own Master, I would be his Servant as long as he would accept of my Service; and now we strain'd Courtisies, and he told me I should be his Servant still; but it should be on two Conditions, 1st, That he would give me 30l. a Year

and my Board, for my managing the Plantation I was then employed in; and *2dly*, That at the same Time he would procure me a new Plantation to begin upon for my own Account; for Colonel *Jack*, says he smiling, tho' you are but a young Man, yet 'tis Time you were doing something for your self.

I ANSWER'D, that I cou'd do little at a Plantation for my self, unless I neglected his Business, which I was resolv'd not to do on any Terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully, if he would accept of me as long as he liv'd: So you shall, says he again, and serve your self too, and thus we parted for that Time.

HERE I am to observe in the general, to avoid dwelling too long upon a Story, that as the two *Negroes* who I deliver'd from Punishment, were ever after the most diligent and laborious poor Fellows in the whole Plantation, as above, except *Mouchat*, of whom I shall speak more by and by, so they not only were grateful themselves for their good Usage, but they influenc'd the whole Plantation: So that the gentle Usage and Lenity, with which they had been treated, had a Thousand Times more Influence upon them to make them diligent, than all the Blows and Kicks, Whippings, and other Tortures could have, which they had been used too, and now the Plantation was famous for it; so that several other Planters began to do the same, tho' I cannot say it was with the same Success, which might be for want of taking Pains with them, and working upon their Passions in a right Manner; it appeared that *Negroes* were to be reason'd into Things as well as other People, and it was by thus managing their Reason, that most of the Work was done.

HOWEVER, (as it was) the Plantations in *Marylana*,

were the better for this Undertaking, and they are to this Day less cruel and barbarous to their *Negroes*, than they are in *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*; and 'tis observ'd the *Negroes* are not in these Colonies so desperate, neither do they so often run away, or so often plot Mischief against their Master, as they do in those.

I HAVE dwelt the longer upon it, that if possible Posterity might be persuaded to try gentler Methods with those miserable Creatures, and to use them with Humanity; assuring them, that if they did so, adding the common Prudence that every particular Case would direct them to for itself, the *Negroes* would do their Work faithfully and chearfully; they would not find any of that Refractoriness, and Sullenness in their Temper, that they pretend now to complain of; but they would be the same as their Christian Servants, except that they would be the more thankful and humble, and laborious of the two.

I CONTINUED in this Station between five and six Years after this, and in all that Time we had not one *Negroe* whipp'd, except as I observ'd before, now and then an unlucky Boy, and that only for Trifles; I cannot say, but we had some ill-natured ungovernable *Negroes*; but if at any Time such offended, they were pardon'd the first Time, in the Manner as above; and the second Time were order'd to be turn'd out of the Plantation; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the Apprehensions of being turn'd away, more by a great deal, than if they had been to be whipp'd, for then they were only sullen and heavy; nay, at length we found the Fear of being turn'd out of the Plantation, had as much Effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent, than any Torture would have done; and the Reason was evi-

dent, namely, because in our Plantation they were us'd like Men, in the other like Dogs.

My Master own'd the Satisfaction he took in this blessed Change, as he call'd it, as long as he lived, and as he was so engag'd, by seeing the *Negroes* grateful, he shew'd the same Principle of Gratitude to those that serv'd him, as he look'd for in those that he serv'd; and particularly to me, and so I come briefly to that Part: The first Thing he did after giving me my Liberty, as above, and making me an Allowance, was to get the Country Bounty to me, that is to say, of a Quantity of Land, to begin and plant for myself.

But this he manag'd a Way by himself, and as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my Name, about 300 Acres of Land in a more convenient Place, than it would have otherwise been allotted me; and this he did by his Interest with the Lord Proprietor; so that I had an Extent of Ground mark'd out to me, not next, but very near one of his own Plantations: When I made my Acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly, that I was not beholding to him for it at all; for he did it, that I might not be oblig'd to neglect his Business for the carrying on my own, and on that Account he would not reckon to me what Money he paid, which however, according to the Custom of the Country, was not a very great Sum, I think about 40 or 50*l.*

Thus he very generously gave me my Liberty, advanc'd this Money for me, put me into a Plantation for myself, and gave me 30*l.* a Year Wages for looking after one of his own Plantations.

But *Colonel*, says he to me, giving you this Plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it,

and to carry it on, and therefore I will give you Credit for whatever is needful to you for the carrying it on; such as Tools, Provisions for Servants, and some Servants to begin; Materials to build Out-Houses, and Conveniencies of all Sorts for the Plantation, and to buy Hogs, Cows, Horses for Stock, and the like, and I'll take it out of your Cargo, which will come from *London*, for the Money of your Bill.

THIS was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appear'd; in order to this, he sent two Servants of his own, who were Carpenters, as for Timber, Boards, Planks, and all Sorts of such Things in a Country almost all made of Wood, they could not be wanting: These run me up a little wooden House in less than three Weeks Time, where I had three Rooms, a Kitchen, an Out-House, and two large Sheds at a Distance from the House, for Store-Houses, almost like Barns, with Stables at the End of them; and thus I was set up in the World, and in short, removed by the Degrees that you have heard from a Pick-Pocket, to a Kidnapp'd miserable Slave in *Virginia*; (for *Maryland* is *Virginia*, speaking of them at a Distance) then from a Slave to a Head Officer, or Overseer of Slaves, and from thence to a Master Planter.

I HAD now (as above) a House, a Stable, two Warehouses, and 300 Acres of Land; but (as we say) bare Walls make giddy Hussy's, so I had neither Axe or Hatchet to cut down* the Trees; Horse, or Hog, or Cow to put up on the Land; not a Hoe, or a Spade to break Ground, nor a Pair of Hands, but my own, to go to Work upon it.

* *Note*, All the Land, before it is planted, is over-grown with high Trees, which must be cut down, and grubb'd up, before any Thing call'd Planting can be begun.

BUT Heaven and kind Masters make up all those Things to a diligent Servant, and I mention it, because People, who are either Transported, or otherwise Trap-pan'd into those Places, are generally thought to be rendered miserable, and undone; whereas, on the contrary, I would encourage them upon my own Experience to depend upon it, that if their own Diligence in the Time of Service, gains them but a good Character, which it will certainly do, if they can deserve it, there is not the poorest, and most despicable Felon that ever went over, but may (after his Time is serv'd) begin for himself, and may in Time be sure of raising a good Plantation.

FOR Example, I will now take a Man in the meanest Circumstances of a Servant, who has serv'd out his 5 or 7 Years, (suppose a transported Wretch for 7 Years) the Custom of the Place was then (what it is since I know not) that on his Master's certifying that he had serv'd his Time out faithfully, he had 50 Acres of Land allotted him for planting, and on this Plan he begins.

SOME had a Horse, a Cow, and three Hogs given, or rather lent them as a Stock for the Land, which they made an Allowance for at a certain Time and Rate.

CUSTOM has made it a Trade, to give Credit to such Beginners as these, for Tools, Cloaths, Nails, Iron-work, and other Things necessary for their Planting; and which the Persons so giving Credit to them, are to be paid for out of the Crop of *Tobacco* which they shall plant; nor is it in the Debtor's Power to defraud the Creditor of Payment in that Manner; and as *Tobacco* is their Coin, as well as their Product; so all

Things are to be purchas'd at a certain Quantity of Tobacco, the Price being so rated.

THUS the naked Planter has Credit at his Beginning, and immediately goes to Work, to cure the Land, and plant *Tobacco*; and from this little Beginning, have some of the most considerable Planters in *Virginia*, and in *Maryland* also, raised themselves, namely, from being without a Hat, or a Shoe, to Estates of of 40 or 50000 Pound; and in this Method, I may add, no diligent Man ever miscarried, if he had Health to Work, and was a good Husband; for he every Year increases a little, and every Year adding more Land, and planting more *Tobacco*, which is real Money, he must gradually increase in Substance, till at length he gets enough to buy *Negroes*, and other Servants, and then never Works himself any more.

IN a Word, every *Newgate* Wretch, every desperate forlorn Creature, the most despicable ruin'd Man in the World, has here a fair Opportunity put into his Hands to begin the World again, and that upon a Foot of certain Gain, and in a Method exactly honest; with a Reputation, that nothing past will have any Effect upon; and innumerable People have rais'd themselves from the worst Circumstance in the World; namely, from the *Cells* in *Newgate*.

BUT I return to my own Story, I was now a Planter, and encourag'd by a kind Benefactor; for, that I might not be wholly taken up with my new Plantation, he gave me freely, and without any Consideration, my grateful Negroe *Mouchat*: He told me it was a Debt due to the Affection that poor Creature had always had for me; and so indeed it was,

for as the Fellow would once have been hang'd for me, so now, and to his last he lov'd me so much, that it was apparent he did every Thing with Pleasure that he did for me; and he was so overcome of Joy when he heard that he was to be my *Negroe*, that the People in the Plantation really thought it would turn his Head, and that the Fellow would go distracted.

BESIDES this, he sent me two Servants more, a Man and a Woman, but these he put to my Account, as above: *Mouchat*, and these two fell immediately to Work for me; and they began with about two Acres of Land, which had but little Timber on it at first, and most of that was cut down by the two *Carpenters* who built my House, (or Shed, rather, for so it should be call'd.)

THESE two Acres I got into good Forwardness, and most of it well planted with *Tobacco*; tho' some of it we were oblig'd to plant with Garden-Stuff for Food; such as *Potatoes*, *Carrots*, *Cabbages*, *Peas*, *Beans*, &c.

IT was a great Advantage to me, that I had so bountiful a Master, who help'd me out in every Case; for in this very first Year I receiv'd a terrible Blow, for my Bill (as I have observ'd) having been copy'd, and attested in Form, and sent to *London*: My kind Friend and *Custom-house* Gentleman paid me the Money; and the Merchant at *London*, by my good Master's Direction, had laid it all out in a sorted Cargo of Goods for me, such as would have made a Man of me all at once; but to my inexpressible Terror and Surprise, the Ship was lost, and that just at the Entrance into the Capes, that is to say, the Mouth of the Bay; some of the Goods were recover'd, but spoil'd, and in short, nothing but the Nails, Tools, and Iron-work, were good for any Thing; and tho' the Value of them was pretty consider-

able in Proportion to the rest, yet my Loss was irreparably great, and indeed, the Greatness of the Loss consisted in its being irreparable.

I was perfectly astonish'd at the first News of the Loss, knowing that I was in Debt to my Patron, or Master, so much, that it must be several Years before I should recover it; and as he brought me the bad News himself, he perceiv'd my Disorder, that is to say, he saw I was in the utmost Confusion, and a kind of Amazement, and so indeed I was, because I was so much in Debt; but he spoke chearfully to me, *Come, says he, do not be so discourag'd, you may make up this Loss: No, Sir, says I, that never can be, for 'tis my all, and I shall never be out of Debt: Well, says he, you have no Creditor, however, but me, and now remember, I once told you I would make a Man of you, and I will not disappoint you for this Disaster.*

I THANK'D him, and did it with more Ceremony and Respect than ever; because I thought myself more under the Hatches than I was before. But he was as good as his Word, for he did not baulk me in the least of any Thing I wanted; and as I had more Iron-work sav'd out of the Ship, in Proportion, than I wanted, I supplied him with some Part of it, and took up some Linnen and Cloaths, and other Necessaries from him in Exchange.

AND now I began to increase visibly; I had a large Quantity of Land cur'd, that is, freed from Timber; and a very good Crop of *Tobacco* in View, and I got three Servants more, and one *Negroe*; so that I had five white Servants, and two *Negroes*, and with this my Affairs went very well on.

THE first Year, indeed, I took my Wages, or Salary, (that is to say) of 30*l.* a Year, because I wanted it very

much; but the second and third Year I resolv'd not to take it, on any Account whatsoever, but to leave it in my Benefactor's Hands to clear off the Debt I had contracted.

AND now I must impose a short Digression on the Reader, to note, That notwithstanding all the Disadvantages of a most wretched Education, yet now when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the World, and to be arriv'd to an independent State, and to foresee that I might be something considerable in Time; I say, now I found differing Sentiments of Things taking Place in my Mind; and first, I had a solid Principle of Justice and Honesty, and a secret Horror of Things past, when I look'd back upon my former Life: That original Something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first Meanesses of my Youth, and us'd to dictate to me, when I was but a Child, that I was to be a Gentleman, continued to operate upon me now, in a Manner I cannot describe; and I continually remember'd the Words of the antient *Glass-maker*, to the Gentleman, that he reprov'd for Swearing, *That to be a Gentleman, was to be an Honest Man, that without Honesty, human Nature was sunk and degenerated; the Gentleman lost all the dignity of his Birth, and plac'd himself even below an Honest Beggar*: These Principles growing upon my Mind in the present Circumstances I was in, gave me a secret Satisfaction, that I can give no Description of; it was an inexpressible Joy to me, that I was now like to be, not only a Man, but an honest Man; and it yielded me a greater Pleasure, that I was ransom'd from being a Vagabond, a Thief, and a Criminal, as I had been from a Child, than that I was deliver'd from Slavery, and the wretched State of a *Virginia* sold Servant: I had Notion enough in my Mind, of the Hardships of the Servant, or Slave, be-

cause I had felt it, and work'd thro' it; I remember'd it as a State of Labour and Servitude, Hardship and Suffering. But the other shock'd my very Nature, chill'd my Blood, and turn'd the very Soul within me: The Thought of it was like Reflections upon Hell, and the damn'd Spirits; it struck me with Horror, it was odious and frightful to look back on, and it gave me a kind of a Fit, a Convulsion or Nervous Disorder, that was very uneasy to me.

BUT to look forward, to reflect how Things were chang'd, how Happy I was, that I cou'd live by my own Endeavours, and was no more under the Necessity of being a Villain, and of getting my Bread at my own Hazard, and the ruin of honest Families; this had in it something more than commonly pleasing and agreeable, and in particular, it had a Pleasure, that till then I had known nothing of: It was a sad Thing to be under a Necessity of doing Evil, to procure that Subsistence, which I could not support the want of, to be oblig'd to run the Venture of the Gallows, rather than the Venture of Starving, and to be always wicked for fear of Want.

I CANNOT say that I had any serious Religious Reflections, or that these Things proceeded yet from the Uneasiness of Conscience, but from meer Reasonings with myself, and from being arriv'd to a Capacity of making a right Judgment of Things more than before; yet I own I had such an Abhorrence of the wicked Life I had led, that I was secretly easy, and had a kind of Pleasure in the Disaster that was upon me about the Ship, and that tho' it was a Loss, I could not but be glad that those ill-gotten Goods were gone, and that I had lost what I had stolen; for I look'd on it as none of mine, and that it would be Fire in my Flax if I should mingle it with that I had now, which

was come honestly by, and was (as it were) sent from Heaven, to lay the Foundation of my Prosperity, which the other would be only as a Moth to consume.

At the same Time my Thoughts dictated to me, that tho' this was the Foundation of my new Life, yet that this was not the Superstructure, and that I might still be born for greater Things than these; that it was Honesty and Virtue alone that made Men Rich and Great, and gave them a Fame, as well as a Figure in the World, and that therefore I was to lay my Foundation in these, and expect what might follow in Time.

To help these Thoughts, as I had learn'd to Read, and Write when I was in *Scotland*; so I began now to love Books, and particularly I had an Opportunity of reading some very considerable ones; such as *Livy's Roman History*, the *History of the Turks*, the *English History of Speed*, and others; the *History of the Low Country Wars*, the *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and the *History of the Spaniard's Conquest of Mexico*, with several others, some of which I bought at a Planter's House, who was lately dead, and his Goods sold, and others I borrowed.

I CONSIDER'D my present State of Life to be my meer Youth, tho' I was now above 30 Year old, because in my Youth I had learn'd nothing; and if my daily Business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to School; however, Fate that had yet something else in Store for me, threw an Opportunity into my Hand; namely, a clever Fellow, that came over a transported Felon, from *Bristol*, and fell into my Hands for a Servant: He had led a loose Life, that he acknowledged, and being driven to Extremities, took to the

Highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hang'd; but falling into some low-priz'd Rogueries afterwards, for want of Opportunity for worse, was catch'd, condemn'd, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

HE was an excellent Scholar, and I perceiving it, ask'd him one Time, if he could give a Method how I might learn the *Latin Tongue*? He said, smiling, *Yes, he could teach it me in three Months, if I would let him have Books, or even without Books, if he had Time*: I told him, a Book would become his Hands better than a Hoe, and if he could promise to make me but understand *Latin* enough to read it, and understand other Languages by it, I would ease him of the Labour, which I was now oblig'd to put him to, especially if I was assur'd that he was Fit to receive that Favour of a kind Master: In short, I made him to me, what my Benefactor made me to him, and from him I gain'd a Fund of Knowledge, infinitely more valuable than the Rate of a Slave, which was what I paid for it, but of this hereafter.

WITH these Thoughts I went chearfully about my Work: As I had now five Servants, my Plantation went on, tho' gently, yet safely, and increas'd gradually, tho' slowly; but the third Year, with the Assistance of my old Benefactor, I purchas'd two *Negroes* more, so that now I had seven Servants, and having cur'd Land sufficient for Supply of their Food, I was at no Difficulty to maintain them; so that my Plantation began now to enlarge itself, and as I liv'd without any personal Expence, but was maintain'd at my old Great Master's, (as we call'd him) and at his Charge, with 30*l.* a Year besides, so all my Gain was laid up for Increase.

IN this Posture I went on for 12 Years, and was very successful in my Plantation, and had gotten, by Means of my Master's Favour, who now I call'd my Friend, a Correspondent in *London*, with whom I traded, shipp'd over my *Tobacco* to him, and receiv'd *European Goods* in Returns, such as I wanted, to carry on my Plantation, and sufficient to sell to others also.

IN this Interval, my good Friend and Benefactor died, and I was left very disconsolate on Account of my Loss, for it was indeed a great Loss to me; he had been a Father to me, and I was like a forsaken Stranger without him, tho' I knew the Country, and the Trade too well enough, and had for some Time chiefly carried on his whole Business for him; yet I seem'd now at a Loss, my Councillor, and my chief Supporter was gone, and I had no Confident to communicate myself to, on all Occasions, as formerly; but there was no Remedy, I was however in a better Condition to stand alone than ever; I had a very large Plantation, and had near 70 *Negroes*, and other Servants: In a Word, I was grown really Rich, considering my first Circumstances that began, (as I may say) with nothing: That is to say, I had nothing of Stock, but I had a great Beginning, for I had such a Man's Friendship and Support in my Beginning, that indeed, I needed no other Stock, and if I had had 500*l.* to have begun with, and not the Assistance, Advice, and Countenance of such a Man, I had not been in a better Condition; but he promis'd to make a Man of me, and so he did, and in one Respect, (I may say) I merited it of him; for I brought his Plantation into such Order, and the Government of his *Negroes* into such a Regulation, that if he had given 500*l.* to have had it done, he would have thought his Money well bestow'd; his

Work was always in order going forward to his Mind, every Thing was in a thriving Posture, his Servants all lov'd him, even *Negroes* and all, and yet there was no such Thing as a cruel Punishment, or Severities known among them.

IN my own Plantation it was the same Thing, I wrought so upon the Reason, and the Affections of my *Negroes*, that they serv'd me chearfully, and by Consequence, faithfully and diligently; when in my Neighbour's Plantation, there was not a Week hardly pass'd without such horrible Outcries, Roarings and Yellings of the Servants, either under Torture, or in Fear of it, that their *Negroes* would, in Discourse with ours, wish themselves dead, and gone, (as it seems they believ'd they should after Death) into their own Country.

IF I met with a sullen stupid Fellow, as sometimes it was unavoidable, I always parted with him, and sold him off; for I would not keep any, that Sense of kind Usage would not oblige; but I seldom met with such bad ones, for by talking to them in a plain reasoning Way, I found the Temper of the roughest of them, would break and soften; the Sense of their own Interest would prevail with them first, or last; and if it had not, the contrary Temper was so general among my People, that their own Fellows and Countrymen would be against them, and that serv'd to bring them to Reason, as soon as any other Thing; and this, those who think it worth their while, will easily find, (*viz.*) that having prevail'd effectually over one leading Man among them to be tractable, and pleas'd, and grateful, he shall make them all like him, and that in a little while, with more Ease than can be imagin'd.

I WAS now a Planter, and also a Student; my Pedagogue

I mention'd above, was very diligent, and prov'd an extraordinary Man indeed, he taught me not only with Application, but with admirable Judgment in the teaching Part; for I have seen it in many Instances since that Time, that every good Scholar is not fitted for a School-master, and that the Art of Teaching is quite different from that of knowing the Language taught.

But this Man had both, and prov'd of great Use to me, and I found Reason, in the Worth of the Person, to be very kind to him, his Circumstances consider'd: I once took the Liberty to ask him how it came to pass, that he, who must have had a liberal Education, and great Advantages to have advanc'd himself in the World, should be capable of falling into such miserable Circumstances as he was in, when he came over? I us'd some Caution in entering upon an Enquiry, which (as I said) might not be pleasant to him to relate; but that I would make him amends, by telling him, that if he desir'd not to enter into it with me, I would readily excuse him, and would not take it ill at all; this I did, because to a Man under such Afflictions, one should always be tender, and not put them upon relating any Thing of themselves, which was grievous to them, or which they had rather was conceal'd.

But he told me, that it was true, that to look back upon his past Life, was indeed *renovare dolorem*; but that such Mortifications were now useful to him, to help forward that Repentance which he hop'd he was sincerely entered upon; and that tho' it was with Horror he look'd back upon mispent Time, and ill-applied Gifts, which a bountiful Creator had bless'd him with, and spar'd to him for a better Improvement; yet he thought he ought to load himself with as much of the Shame, as it pleas'd God to make his

Lot, since he had already loaded himself with the Guilt in a shameless Manner; till God (he still hop'd in Mercy to him) had cut him short, and brought him to publick Disgrace, tho' he could not say he had been brought to Justice, for then he had been sent into Eternity in despair, and not been sent to *Virginia*, to repent of the wickedest Life that ever Man liv'd:—He would have gone on, but I found his Speech interrupted by a passionate Struggle within, between his Grief and his Tears.

I TOOK no more Notice of it, than to tell him, that I was sorry I had ask'd him about it, but that it was my Curiosity; when I saw that ignorant, untaught, untractable Creatures come into Misery and Shame, I made no Enquiry after their Affairs, but when I saw Men of Parts and Learning take such Steps, I concluded it must be occasion'd by something exceeding wicked; so indeed, (said he) the Judge said to me when I begg'd Mercy of him in *Latin*, he told me, than when a Man, furnished with such Learning, falls into such Crimes, he is more inexcusable than other Men; because his Learning recommending him, he could not want Advantages, and had the less Temptation to Crimes.

BUT, Sir, said he, I believe my Case was what I find is the Case of most of the wicked Part of the World, *viz.* that to be reduc'd to Necessity is to be wicked; for Necessity is not only the Temptation, but is such a Temptation as human Nature is not empower'd to resist: How good then, says he, is that God, which takes from you Sir, the Temptation, by taking away the Necessity?

I WAS so sensible of the Truth of what he said (knowing it by my own Case) that I could not enter any farther upon the Discourse; but he went on voluntarily: This Sir, says he, I am so sensible of, that I think the Case I am now

reduc'd to, much less miserable than the Life which I liv'd before, because I am deliver'd from the horrid Necessity of doing such ill Things, which was my Ruin and Disaster then, even for my Bread, and am not now oblig'd to ravish my Bread out of the Mouths of others by Violence and Disorder; but am fed, tho' I am made to earn it by the hard Labour of my Hands, and I thank God for the Difference. He paus'd here, but went on thus,

How much is the Life of a Slave in *Virginia*, to be preferr'd to that of the most prosperous Thief in the World! here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my Body is punish'd, but my Conscience is not loaded; and as I us'd to say, that I had no Leisure to look in, but I would begin when I had some Recess, some Time to spare; now God has found me Leisure to Repent; he run on in this Manner a great while, giving Thanks, I believe most heartily, for his being deliver'd from the wretched Life he had liv'd, though his Misery were to be ten Fold as much as it was.

I WAS sincerely touch'd with his Discourse on this Subject, I had known so much of the real Difference of the Case, that I could not but be affected with it, tho' till now I confess I knew little of the Religious Part: I had been an Offender as well as he, tho' not altogether in the same Degree, but I knew nothing of the Penitence; neither had I look'd back upon any Thing as a Crime, but as a Life dishonourable, and not like a Gentleman, which run much in my Thoughts, as I have several Times mention'd.

WELL, but now, (says I) you talk penitently, and I hope you are sincere; but what would be your Case, if you were deliver'd from the miserable Condition of a Slave, sold for Money, which you are now in? Should you not, think you, be the same Man?

BLESSED be God, (says he) that if I thought I should, I would sincerely pray that I might not be deliver'd, and that I might for ever be a Slave rather than a Sinner.

WELL, but (says I) suppose you to be under the same Necessity, in the same starving Condition, should you not take the same Course?

HE replied, very sharply, that shews us the Need we have of the Petition in the Lord's-Prayer: *Lead us not into Temptation*; and of Solomon's, or Agar's Prayer, *Give me not Poverty, least I Steal*. I should ever beg of God not to be left to such Snares as human Nature cannot resist. But I have some Hope, that I should venture to starve, rather than to steal; but I also beg to be deliver'd from the Danger, because I know not my own Strength.

THIS was honestly spoken, indeed; and there really were such visible Tokens of Sincerity in all his Discourse, that I could not suspect him: On some of our Discourses on this Subject, he pull'd out a little dirty Paper Book, in which he had wrote down such a Prayer in verse, as I doubt few Christians in the World could subscribe to; and I cannot but Record it, because I never saw any Thing like it in my Life, the Lines are as follows:

*Lord! whatsoever Sorrows rack my Breast,
Till Crime removes too, let me find no Rest;
How dark soe'er my State, or sharp my Pain,
O! let not Troubles cease, and Sin remain.*

*For Jesus Sake remove not my Distress,
Till free Triumphant Grace shall reposess
The vacant Throne, from whence my Sins depart,
And make a willing Captive of my Heart;
Till Grace compleatly shall my Soul subdue,
Thy conquest full, and my Subjection true.*

THERE were more Lines on the same Subject, but these were the Beginning; and these touching me so sensibly, I have remember'd them distinctly ever since, and have, I believe, repeated them to myself a thousand Times.

I PRESS'D him no more, you may be sure, after an Answer so very particular, and affecting as this was; it was easy to see the Man was a sincere Penitent, not sorrowing for the Punishment he was suffering under; for his Condition was no Part of his Affection, he was rather thankful for it, as above; but his Concern was a feeling and affecting Sense of the wicked and abominable Life he had led, the abhorr'd Crimes he had committed, both against God and Man, and the little Sense he had had of the Condition he was in, that even till he came to the Place where he now was.

I ASK'D him if he had no Reflections of this kind, after, or before his Sentence? He told me, *Newgate*, (for the Prison at *Bristol* is call'd so, it seems, as well as that at *London*) was a Place that seldom made Penitents, but often made Villains worse, till they learn'd to defy God and Devil. But that, however, he cou'd look back with this Satisfaction, that he could say, he was not altogether insensible of it, even then; but nothing that amounted to a thorough serious looking up to Heaven: That he often indeed look'd in, and reflected upon his past mispent Life, even before he was in Prison, when the Intervals of his wicked Practices gave some Time for Reflection, and he would sometimes say to himself, Whither am I going? To what will all these Things bring me at last? And where will they End? Sin and Shame follow one another, and I shall certainly come to the Gallows; then, said he, I wou'd strike upon my Breast, and say: O wicked Wretch! When wilt thou Repent? And would answer myself as often;

Never! Never! Never! Except it be in a Goal, or at a Gibbet.

THEN, said he, I would weep and sigh, and look back a little upon my wretched Life, the History of which would make the World amaz'd; but alas! the Prospect was so dark, and it fill'd me with so much Terror, that I cou'd not bear it; then I wou'd fly to Wine and Company for Relief, that Wine brought on Excess, and that Company, being always wicked Company like myself, brought on Temptation; and then all Reflection vanish'd, and I was the same Devil as before.

HE spoke this with so much Affection, that his Face was ever smiling when he talk'd of it, and yet his Eyes had Tears standing in them, at the same Time, and all the Time; for he had a delightful Sorrow, if that be a proper Expression in speaking of it.

THIS was a strange Relation to me, and began to affect me after a Manner that I did not understand; I lov'd to hear him talk of it, and yet it always left a kind of a dead Lump behind it upon my Heart, which I cou'd give no Reason for, nor imagine to what it tend; I had a Heaviness on my Soul, without being able to describe it, or to say what ailed me.

WELL, he went on with his Relation, after this, says he, I fell into the Hands of Justice for a Trifle, a Piece of Sport in our Crime; and I, that for a hundred Robberies, as well on the Highway, as otherwise, the Particulars of which would fill a Book to give an Account of, ought, (whenever I was taken) to be hang'd in Chains, and who, if it had been publick, could not have fail'd of having twenty People come in against me, was privately hurried into a Country Goal, under a wrong Name; try'd for a

small Fact within Benefit of Clergy, and in which I was not principally Guilty, and by this Means obtained the Favour of being transported.

AND what think you, said he, has most sensibly affected me, and brought on the blessed Change, that I hope I may say, God has wrought in my Soul: Not the Greatness of my Crimes, but the Wonders of that merciful Providence, which when it has Mercy in Store for a Man, often brings him into the Briars, into Sorrow and Misery for lesser Sins; that Men may be led to see how they are spar'd from the Punishment due to them, for the greater Guilt which they know lies upon them; do you think, that when I receiv'd the Grant of Transportation, I cou'd be insensible what a Miracle of Divine Goodness such a Thing must be, to one who had so many Ways deserv'd to be hang'd, and must infallibly have died, if my true Name had been known, or if the least Notice had been given, that it was such a notorious Wretch as I that was in Custody? There began the first Motive of Repentance, for certainly the Goodness of our great Creator in sparing us, when we forfeit our Lives to his Justice, and his Merciful bringing us out of the Miseries which we plunge ourselves into, when we have no Way to extricate ourselves, his bringing those very Miseries to be the Means of our Deliverance, and working good to us out of Evil, when we are working the very Evil out of his Good: I say, these Things are certainly the strongest Motives to Repentance that are in the World; and the sparing Thieves from the Gallows, certainly makes more Penitent than the Gallows itself.

IT is true, continu'd he, that the Terror of Punishment works strongly upon the Mind: In view of Death, Men are fill'd with Horror of Soul, and immediately they call

that Repentance which I doubt is too often mistaken; being only a kind of Anguish in the Soul, which breeds a Grief for the Punishment that is to be suffer'd; an Amazement founded upon the dreadful View of what is to follow: But the Sense of Mercy is quite another Thing, this seizes all the Passions, and all the Affections, and works a sincere unfeigned Abhorrence of the Crime, as a Crime; as an Offence against our Benefactor, as an Act of Baseness and Ingratitude to him, who has given us Life, and all the Blessings and Comforts of Life; and who has conquer'd us by continuing to do us good, when he has been provok'd to destroy us.

THIS Sir, says he, has been the Fountain of that Repentance which I so much rejoice in: This is the delightful Sorrow, says he, that I spoke of just now; and this makes Smiles sit on my Face, while Tears run from my Eyes, a Joy that I can no otherwise express, than by telling you Sir, that I never liv'd a happy Day since I came to an Age of acting in the World, till I landed in this Country, and work'd in your Plantation, naked and hungry, weary and faint, oppress'd with Cold in one Season, and Heat in the other; then I began to see into my own Ways, and see the Difference between the Hardships of the Body, and the Torment of the Mind: Before I revell'd in fulness, and here I struggl'd with hard Fare; then I wallow'd in Sloth and voluptuous Ease, here I labour'd till Nature sometimes was just sinking under the Load; but with this Difference in the Felicity of either Case, namely, that there I had a Hell in my Soul, was fill'd with Horror and Confusion, was a daily Terror to my self, and always expected a miserable End; whereas here, I had a blessed Calm of Soul, an Emblem and Forerunner of Heaven, thankful

and humble, adoring that Mercy that had snatch'd me out of the Jaws of the Devil: These took up my Thoughts, and made my most weary Hours pleasant to me, my Labour light, and my Heart chearful; I never lay down on my hard Lodging, but I praised God with the greatest Excess of Affection, not only that it was not the *Condemn'd-hole*, and that I was deliver'd from the Death I had deserv'd; but that it was not *Shooter's-Hill*, that I was not still a Robber, a Terror to just and honest Men, a Plunderer of the innocent, and the Poor, a Thief, and a Villain, that ought to be rooted out from the Earth, for the Safety of others; but that I was deliver'd from the horrid Temptation of sinning, to support my Luxury, and making one Vice necessary to another; and this I bear Witness is sufficient to sweeten the bitterest Sorrow, and make any Man be thankful for *Virginia*, or a worse Place, if that can be.

He then entertain'd me with an Opinion of his, that if it were possible for the Face of Heaven and Hell to be disclos'd and laid open, and that Men could be made capable of seeing distinctly and separately, the Joys and Glory, and utmost Felicity of one, and the Horrors of the other, and to make a Judgment of both according to the Power of human Reasoning; the first would have a stronger and more powerful Effect to reform the World than the latter: But this we had farther about Discourses on many Occasions.

If it should be enquir'd, how I was capable of hearing all this, and having no Impressions made upon my Mind by it, especially, when it so many Ways suited my own Case, and the Condition of the former part of my Life; I shall answer that presently by it self: However, I took no Notice of it to him, for he had quite other Notions of me

than I had of my self; nor did I, as is usual in such Cases, enter into any Confidence with him on my own Story, only that I took sometimes the Occasion to let him know, that I did not come over to *Virginia* in the Capacity of a Criminal, or that I was not Transported; which considering how many of the Inhabitants there were so, who then liv'd in good Circumstances, was needful enough to be done.

But as to my self, it was enough that I was in Condition now, 'twas no Matter to any Body what I had been, and as it was grown pretty much out of Memory, from what original Disaster I came into the Country, or that I was ever a Servant, otherwise than voluntary, and that it was no Business of mine to expose my self, so I kept that Part close; but for all that, it was impossible for me to conceal the Disorder I was in, as often as he talk'd of these Things; I had hitherto gone on upon a Notion of Things founded only in their Appearance, as they affected me with Good or Evil, esteeming the happy and unhappy part of Life to be those that gave me Ease or Sorrow, without regarding, or indeed much understanding how far those Turns of Life were influenced by the giver of Life; or how far they were all directed by a Sovereign God that governs the World, and the Creatures it had made.

As I had no Education but as you have heard, so I had had no Instruction, no Knowledge of Religion, or indeed of the Meaning of it; and tho' I was now in a kind of Search after Religion, it was a meer looking as it were, into the World to see what kind of a Thing, or Place it was, and what had been done in it; but as to him that made it, there had truly been scarce a Creature among all that he had made, with Souls in them, that were so entirely without the Knowledge of God as I was, and made so little Enquiry about it.

BUT the serious affectionate Discourse of this young Man, began to have different Effects upon me, and I began to say to my self, this Man's Reflections are certainly very just, but what a Creature am I, and what have I been doing? I that never once did this in all my Life! that never said so much, God I thank thee for all that I have been sav'd from, or all that I have been brought to in this World; and yet my Life has been as full of Variety, and I have been as miraculously deliver'd from Dangers and Mischiefs, and as many of them as ever he has; and if it has all been brought to pass by an invisible Hand in Mercy to me, what have I been doing? And where have I liv'd? That I only should be the most thoughtless, and unthankful of all God's Creatures!

THIS indeed began to grow upon me, and made me very Melancholy; but as to Religion, I understood so little about it, that if I had resolv'd upon any such Thing as a new Course of Life, or to set about a religious Change, I knew not at which end to begin, or what to do about it.

ONE Day it happen'd that my Tutor, for so I always call'd him, had the Bible in his Hand, and was looking in it, as he generally did many Times a Day, tho' I know not for what, seeing the Bible I took it out of his Hands, and went to look into it, which I had done so little before, that I think I might safely say, I had never read a Chapter in it in all my Life; he was talking of the Bible then as a Book only, and where he had it, and how he brought it to *Virginia*, and in some Extasy he took and kissed it; this blessed Book! says he, this was all the Treasure I brought from out *England* with me, and a comfortable Treasure it has been to me, added he, I would not have been without it in my Sorrows for any other Treasure in the World, and so he went on at large.

I THAT had no Notion of what he meant, only, as I have said above, some young infant Thoughts about the Works of Providence in the World, and its merciful Dealings with me, took the Book out of his Hand, and went to look into it, and the Book open'd at the *Acts 26. v. 28.* where *Fælix* says to St. *Paul*, *almost thou perswadest me to be a Christian.* I think, says I, here's a Line hits me to a Tittle, upon the long Account you have been given of yourself, and I must say them to you, as the Governor here said; and so I read the Words to him. He blush'd at the Text, and returns, I could answer you in the very Words the Apostle return'd to him in the next Verse, *I would thou wert both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these Bonds.*

I WAS now more than 30 Year old by my own Account, and as well as it was possible for me to keep a Reckoning of my Age, who had no Body left that ever knew my Beginning: I was, I say, above 30 Year old, and had gone thro' some Variety in the World; but as I was perfectly abandoned in my Infancy, and utterly without Instruction in my Youth, so I was entirely ignorant of every Thing that was worthy the Name of Religion in the World; and this was the first Time that ever any Notion of religious Things entered into my Heart: I was surpriz'd at this Man's Talk, and that several Ways, particularly, he talk'd so feelingly of his pass'd Circumstances, and they were so like my own, that every Time he made a religious Inference from his own Condition, and argued from one Condition of his to another; it struck into my Thoughts like a Bullet from a Gun, that I had certainly as much to be thankful for, and to repent of as he had, except only that I had no Knowledge of better Things to be thankful for, which he had; but in return for that, I was deliver'd and

set up in the World, made a Master, and easy, and was in good Circumstances, being raised from the very same low distressed Condition as he was in, I mean a sold Servant; but that he remain'd so still, so that if his Sin had been greater than mine, so his Distress was still greater.

THIS Article of Gratitude struck deep, and lay heavy upon my Mind: I remember'd that I was grateful to the last Degree to my old Master, who 'had raised me from my low Condition, and that I lov'd the very Name of him, or as might be said, the very Ground he trod on; but I had not so much as once thought of any higher Obligation, no, nor so much as like the *Pharisee* had said, *one God I thank thee*, to him, for all the influence which his Providence must have had in my whole Affair.

IT occurr'd to me presently, that if none of all these Things befall us without the Direction of a Divine Power, as my new Instructor had told me at large; and that God had order'd every Thing, the most Minute and least Transaction of Life, insomuch *That not a Hair of our Head shall fall to the Ground without his Permission*. I say, it occurr'd to me, that I had been a most unthankful Dog to that Providence that had done so much for me; and the Consequence of the Reflection was immediately this, how justly may that Power so disoblig'd, take away again his Wooll and his Flax, with which I am now clothed, and reduce me to the Misery of my first Circumstances.

THIS perplex'd me much, and I was very pensive and sad, in which however, my new Instructor was a constant Comforter to me, and I learn'd every Day something or other from him; upon which I told him one Morning, that I thought he must leave off teaching me *Latin*, and teach me Religion.

HE spoke with a great deal of Modesty of his being incapable of informing me of any Thing that I did not know, and propos'd to me to read the Scriptures every Day, as the sure and only Fund of Instruction: I answer'd, that in the Words of the *Eunuch* to St. *Philip*, when the Apostle ask'd him if he understood what he read? *How can I, unless some one guide me?*

WE talk'd frequently upon this subject, and I found so much Reason to believe he was a sincere Convert, that I can speak of him as no other in all I have to say of him: However, I cannot say my Thoughts were yet ripen'd for an Operation of that kind; I had some Uneasiness about my past Life, and I liv'd now, and had done so before I knew him, a very regular sober Life, always taken up in my Business, and running into no Excesses; but as to commencing Penitent, as this Man had done, I cannot say, I had any Convictions upon me sufficient to bring it on, nor had I a Fund of religious Knowledge to support me in it; so it wore off again gradually, as such Things generally do, where the first Impressions are not deep enough.

IN the mean Time as he read over long Lectures of his own Disasters to me, and applied them all seriously to me, so our Discourse was always very solid and weighty, and we had nothing of Levity between us, even when we were not concern'd in religious Discourses: He read History to me, and where Books were wanting, he gave me Ideas of those Things which had not been recorded by our Modern Histories, or at least, that our Number of Books would not reach; by these Things he rais'd an unquenchable Thirst in me, after seeing something that was doing in the World, and the more, because all the World was at that Time engag'd more or less, in the great War wherein the

French King might be said to be engag'd with, and against all the Powers of *Europe*.

Now, I look'd upon my self as one buried alive in a remote Part of the World, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen, and that little not till at least half a Year after it was done, and sometimes a Year or more; and in a Word, the old Reproach often came in my Way, namely, that even this was not yet the Life of a Gentleman.

IT was true, that this was much nearer to it than that of a Pick-pocket, and still nearer than that of a sold Slave: But in short, this would not do, and I cou'd receive no Satisfaction in it: I had now a second Plantation, a very considerable one, and it went forward very well, I had on it almost 100 Servants already of sundry sorts, and an Overseer, that I had a great deal of Reason to say I might depend upon, and but that, I had a third in Embrio, and newly begun, I had nothing to hinder me from going where I pleased.

HOWEVER, I now began to frame my Thoughts for a Voyage to *England*; resolving then to act as I should see Cause, but with a secret Resolution to see more of the World if possible, and realize those Things to my Mind, which I had hitherto only entertain'd remote Ideas of, by the Help of Books.

ACCORDINGLY I push'd forward the Settlement of my third Plantation, in order to bring it to be in a Posture, either to be letto a Tenant, or left in Trust with an Overseer, as I should find Occasion.

HAD I resolv'd to leave it to an Overseer or Steward, no Man in the World could have been fit for it like my Tutor; but I could not think of parting with him, who was

the Cause of my desire of Travelling, and who I concluded to make my Partner in my Travels.

IT was three Year after this before I could get Things in order, fit for my leaving the Country; in this Time I deliver'd my Tutor from his Bondage, and would have given him his Liberty, but to my great Disappointment, I found that I could not empower him to go for *England* till his Time was expir'd according to the Certificate of his Transportation, which was register'd; so I made him one of my Overseers, and thereby raised him gradually to a Prospect of living in the same manner, and by the like Steps that my good Benefactor raised me, only that I did not assist him to enter upon planting for himself as I was assisted, neither was I upon the Spot to do it; but his Man's Diligence and honest Application, even unassisted deliver'd himself, any farther, than as I say, by making him an Overseer, which was only a present Ease and Deliverance to him from the hard Labour and Fare, which he endured as a Servant.

HOWEVER in this Trust he behav'd so faithfully, and so diligently, that it recommended him in the Country, and when I came back, I found him in Circumstances very differing from what I left him in, besides being my principal Manager for near 20 Years, as you shall hear in its Place.

I MENTION these Things the more at large, that if any unhappy Wretch, who may have the Disaster to fall into such Circumstances as these, may come to see this Account, they may learn the following short Lessons from these Examples.

I. THAT *Virginia*, and a State of Transportation, may be the happiest Place and Condition they were ever

in for this Life, as by a sincere Repentance, and a diligent Application to the Business they are put to; they are effectually deliver'd from a Life of a flagrant Wickedness, and put in a perfect new Condition, in which they have no Temptation to the Crimes they formerly committed, and have a Prospect of Advantage for the future.

II. THAT in *Virginia*, the meanest and most despicable Creature after his Time of Servitude is expir'd, if he will but apply himself with Diligence and Industry to the Business of the Country, is sure (Life and Health suppos'd) both of living well and growing rich.

As this is a Foundation, which the most unfortunate Wretch alive is entitul'd too; a transported Felon, is, in my Opinion, a much happier Man than the most prosperous untaken Thief in the Nation; nor are those poor young People so much in the wrong as some imagine them to be, that go voluntarily over to those Countries; and in order to get themselves carried over, and plac'd there, freely bind themselves there; especially if the Persons into whose Hands they fall, do any Thing honestly by them; for as it is to be suppos'd, that those poor People knew not what Course to take before, or had miscarried in their Conduct before; here they are sure to be immediately provided for, and after the Expiration of their Time, to be put in a Condition to provide for themselves; but I return to my own Story, which now begins a new Scene.

I WAS now making Provision for my going to *England*, after having settled my Plantation in such Hands as was fully to my satisfaction: My first Work was to furnish my

self with such a Stock of Goods and Money, as might be sufficient for my Occasions Abroad, and particularly might allow to make large Returns to *Maryland*, for the Use and Supply of all my Plantations; but when I came to look nearer into the Voyage, it occurr'd to me, that it would not be prudent to put my Cargo all on board the same Ship that I went in, so I shipp'd at several Times 500 Hogsheads of Tobacco in several Ships for *England*, giving Notice to my Correspondent in *London*, that I would embark about such a Time to come over my self, and ordering him to ensure for a considerable Sum, proportion'd to the Value of my Cargo.

ABOUT two Months after this I left the Place, and embark'd for *England*, in a stout Ship carrying 24 Guns, and about 600 Hogsheads of Tobacco, and we left the Capes of *Virginia* on the 1st of *August*.—We had a very sour and rough Voyage for the first Fortnight, tho' it was in a Season so generally noted for good Weather.

AFTER we had been about 11 Days at Sea, having the Wind most part of the Time blowing very hard at West or between the West and N.W. by which we were carried a great Way farther to the Eastward than they usually go in their Course for *England*, we met with a furious Tempest, which held us 5 Days, blowing most of the Time excessive hard, and by which we were oblig'd to run away afore the Wind, as the Seamen call it, wheresoever it was our Lot to go; by this Storm our Ship was greatly damag'd, and some Leaks we had, but not so bad, but by the Diligence of the Seamen they were stopp'd: However the Captain after having beaten up as well as he could against the Weather, and the Sea going very high, at length he resolved to go away for the *Bermudas*.

I WAS not Seaman enough to understand what the Reason of their Disputes was, but in their running for the Islands, it seems they over shot the Latitude, and could never reach the Island of *Bermudas* again; the Master and the Mate differed to an Extremity about this, their Reckonings being more than usually wide of one another, the Storm having driven them a little out of their Knowledge: The Master being a positive Man, insulted the Mate about it, and threaten'd to expose him for it when he came to *England*: The Mate was an excellent Sea Artist, and an experienc'd Sailor, but withal a modest Man; and tho' he insisted upon his being right, did it in respectful Terms, and as it became him; but after several Days Dispute, when the Weather came to abate, and the Heavens to clear up, that they could take their Observations, and know where they were, it appear'd that the Mate's Account was right, and the Captain was mistaken, for they were then in the Latitude of 29 Degrees, and quite out of the Wake of the *Bermudas*.

THE Mate made no indecent Use of the Discovery at all, and the Captain being convinc'd, carry'd it civilly to him, and so the Heats were over among them; but the next Question was, What they should do next? Some were for going one Way, some another, but all agreed they were not in a Condition to go on the direct Course for *England*, unless they could have a Southerly or South-West Wind, which had not been our Fate since we came to Sea.

UPON the whole, they resolv'd by Consent to steer away to the *Canaries*, which was the nearest Land they could make, except the *Cape de Verd* Islands, which were too much to the Southward for us, if it could be avoided.

UPON this, they stood away N.E. and the Wind hang-

ing still Westerly, or to the Northward of the West, we made good Way, and in about 15 Days sail we made the *Pico Teneriffe*, being a monstrous Hill in one of the *Canary Islands*: Here we refresh'd ourselves, got fresh Water, and some fresh Provisions, and plenty of excellent Wine, but no Harbour to run into, to take Care of the Ship which was leaky and tender, having had so much very bad Weather; so we were oblig'd to do as well as we could, and put to Sea again, after riding at the *Canaries* four Days only.

FROM the *Canaries* we had tollerable Weather, and a smooth Sea, till we came into the Soundings, so they call the Mouth of the *British* Channel, and the Wind blowing hard at the N. and N. W. oblig'd us to keep a larger Offing, as the Seamen call it, at our Entrance into the Channel, when behold! in the grey of the Morning, a *French* Cruizer or Privateer of 26 Guns appear'd and crowded after us with all the Sail they could make: In short, our Captain exchang'd a Broadside or two with them, which was terrible Work to me; for I had never seen such before, the *Frenchman's* Guns having raked us, and killed and wounded six of our best Men.

In short, after a Fight long enough to show us, that if we would not be taken, we must resolve to sink by her Side, for there was no Room to expect Deliverance; and a Fight long enough to save the Master's Credit, we were taken, and the Ship carried away to St. *Malo's*.

I WAS not much concern'd for the Loss I had in the Ship, because I knew I had sufficient in the World somewhere or other; but as I was effectually stripp'd of every Thing I had about me, and even almost my Cloaths from my Back, I was in but a very indifferent Condition; but some body informing the Captain of the Privateer, that I

was a Passenger, and a Merchant, he call'd for me, and enquir'd into my Circumstances, and coming to hear from myself, how I had been used, oblig'd the Seamen to give me a Coat and Hat, and a Pair of Shoes, which they had taken of me, and himself gave me a Morning Gown of his own, to wear while I was in his Ship, and to give him his due, treated me very well.

I HAD however, besides my being taken, the Mortification to be detain'd on Board the Cruizer, and seeing the Ship I was in Mann'd with *Frenchmen*, and sent away, as above, for St. *Malo*; and this was a greater Mortification to me afterwards, when being brought into St. *Malos*, I heard that our Ship was re-taken in her Passage to St. *Malos*, by an *English Man of War*, and carry'd to *Portsmouth*.

WHEN our Ship was sent away, the *Rover* cruiz'd Abroad again in the Mouth of the Channel for some Time, but met with no Purchase; at last they made a Sail, which prov'd to be one of their Nation, and one of their own Trade, from whom they learn'd (the News having been carried to *England*, that some *French Privateers* lay off and on in the Soundings), that three *English Men of War* were come out from *Plymouth*, on Purpose to cruize in the Channel, and that they would certainly meet with us. Upon this Intelligence, the *Frenchman*, a bold brave Fellow, far from shrinking from his Work, steers away N.E. for St. *George's Channel*, and in the Latitude of 48 and a half, unhappily enough, meets with a large and rich *English Ship*, bound home from *Jamaica*; it was in the grey of the Morning, and very clear, when a Man on the Round Top, cry'd out *Au voile*, a Sail: I was in Hopes indeed it had been the *English Man of War*, and by the Hurry and Clutter they were in, to get all ready for

a Fight, I concluded it was so, and got out of my Hammock, for I had no Cabbin to lie in, that I might see what it was; but I soon found that my Hopes were vain, and it was on the wrong Side; for that being on our Larboard Bow, the Ship lying then Northward, to make the Coast of *Ireland*; by the Time I was turn'd out, I could perceive they had all their Sails bent, and full, having begun to Chace, and making great Way; on the other Hand, it was evident the Ship saw them too, and knew what they were, and to avoid them, stretch'd away with all the Canvas they could lay on, for the Coast of *Ireland*, to run in their for Harbour.

OUR Privateer, it was plain, infinitely out sail'd her, running two Foot for her one, and towards Evening came up with them; had they been able to have held it but six Hours longer, they would have got into *Limerick* River, or some where under Shore; so that we should not have ventur'd upon them, but we came up with them, and the Captain when he see there was no Remedy, bravely brought too, and prepar'd to fight, she was a Ship of 30 Guns, but deep in the Sea, cumber'd between Deck with Goods, and could not run out her lower Deck Guns, the Sea also going pretty high, tho' at last she ventur'd to open her Gun-Room Ports, and fire with 3 Guns on a Side; but her worst Fate was, she sail'd heavy, being deep loaden, and the *Frenchman* had run up by her Side, and pour'd in his Broad-side, and was soon ready again; however, as she was well Mann'd too, and that the *English* Sailors bestirr'd themselves, they gave us their Broad-sides too very nim-bly and heartily, and I found the *Frenchman* had a great many Men kill'd at the first Brush, but the next was worst, for the *English* Ship, tho' she did not sail so well as

the *Frenchman*, was a bigger Ship, and strong built, and as we (the *French*) bore down upon them again, the *English* run boldly on Board us, and laid thwart our Hause, lashing themselves fast to us; then it was that the *English* Captain run out his lower Tire of Guns, and indeed tore the *Frenchman* so, that had he held it, the Privateer would have had the worst of it; but the *Frenchmen* with admirable Readiness indeed, and Courage, the Captain appearing every where with his Sword in his Hand, bestirr'd themselves, and loosing themselves from the *English* Ship, thrusting her off with Brooms, and pouring their small Shot so thick, that the other could not appear upon Deck: I say, clearing themselves thus, they came to lie a Broad-side of each other, when by long firing the *English* Ship was at length disabled, her Missen-Mast and Bole-sprit shot away, and which was worst of all, her Captain kill'd; so that after a Fight which held all Night, (for they fought in the Dark) and part of the next Day, they were oblig'd to strike.

I WAS civilly desir'd by the *French* Captain to go down into the Hole while the Fight held, and besides the Civility of it, I found he was not willing I should be upon Deck; perhaps he thought I might have some Opportunity to do hurt, tho' I know not how it could be: However I was very ready to go down, for I had no Mind to be kill'd, especially by my own Friends, so I went down and sat by the Surgeon, and had the Opportunity to find, that the first Broad-side the *English* fir'd, seven wounded Men were brought down to the Surgeon, and 33 more afterwards; that is to say, when the *English* lay thwart their Bow, and after they clear'd themselves, there was about 11 more; so that they had 51 Men wounded, and about 22 kill'd,

the *Englishman* had 18 Men kill'd and wounded, among whom was the Captain.

THE French Captain however triumph'd in this Prize, for it was an exceeding rich Ship, having abundance of Silver on Board; and after the Ship was taken, and they had plunder'd all the great Cabbin afforded, which was very considerable, the Mate promised the Captain, that if he would give him his Liberty, he would discover 6000 Pieces of Eight to him privately, which none of the Men should know of; the Captain engag'd, and gave it under his Hand to set him at Liberty as soon as he came on Shore: Accordingly in the Night, after all either was turn'd in, as they call it, or employ'd on the Duty of the Watch, the Captain and the Mate of the Prize went on Board, and having faithfully discover'd the Money, which lay in a Place made on Purpose to conceal it; the Captain resolv'd to let it lie till they arriv'd, and then he convey'd it on Shore for his own Use; so that the Owners, nor the Seamen ever came to any Share of it, which by the Way was a Fraud in the Captain; but the Mate paid his Ransome by the Discovery, and the Captain gave him his Liberty very punctually as he had promised, and 200 Pieces of Eight to carry him to *England*, and to make good his Losses.

WHEN he had made this Prize, the Captain thought of nothing more, than how to get safe to *France* with her; for she was a Ship sufficient to enrich all his Men, and his Owners also. The Account of her Cargo by the Captain's Books, of which I took a Copy, was in general:

260 Hogsheads of Sugar.

187 Smaller Casks of Sugar.

176 Barrels of Indigo.

28 Casks of *Pimento*.

42 Bags of Cotton Wool.

80 C. wt. of Elephants Teeth.

60 Small Casks of Rum.

18000 Pieces of Eight, besides the 6000 conceal'd.

Several Parcels of Drugs, Tortoise-shell, Sweet-meats, call *Succads*, Chocolate, Lime Juice, and other things of considerable Value.

THIS was a terrible Loss among the English Merchants, and a noble Booty for the Rogues that took it; but as it was in open War, and by fair fighting, as they call it, there was no Objection to be made against them, and to give them their due, they fought bravely for it.

THE Captain was not so bold as to meet the English Men of War before, but he was as wary now; for having a Prize of such Value in his Hands, he was resolv'd not to lose her again, if he could help it; so he stood away to the Southward, and that so far, that I once thought he was resolv'd to go into the Streights, and Home by *Marseilles*. But having sail'd to the Latitude of 45, 3 qrs. or thereabouts, he steer'd away East, into the Bottom of the Bay of *Biscay*, and carried us all into the River of *Bourdeaux*, where on Notice of his Arrival with such a Prize, his Owners or Principals came overland to see him, and where they consulted what to do with her; the Money they secur'd to be sure, and some of the Cargo; but the Ships sail'd afterwards along the Coast to St. *Malo*, taking the Opportunity of some French Men of War which were crusing on the Coast, to be their Convoy as far as *Ushant*.

HERE the Captain rewarded and dismissed the English

Mate, as I haws said, who got a Passage from thence to *Diep* by Sea, and after that into *England*, by the Help of a Passport, thro' *Flander* to *Ostend*; the Captain it seems, the more willingly shipp'd him off, that he might not discover to others, what he had discover'd to him.

I was now at *Bourdeaux* in *France*, and the Captain ask'd me one Morning what I intended to do? I did not understand him at first, but he soon gave me to understand, that I was now either to be deliver'd up to the State as an *English* Prisoner, and so be carried to *Dinant* in *Britanny*, or to find Means to have myself exchang'd, or to pay my Ransom, and this Ransom he told me at first was 300 Crowns.

I KNEW not what to do, but desir'd he would give me Time to write to *England*, to my Friends; for that I had a Cargo of Goods sent to them by me from *Virginia*, but I did not know but it might have fallen into such Hands as his were, and if it was, I knew not what would be my Fate; he readily granted that, so I wrote by the Post, and had the Satisfaction in Answer to it, to hear that the Ship I wastaken in, had been retaken, and carried into *Portsmouth*; which I doubted would have made my new Master more strict, and perhaps insolent, but he said nothing of it to me, nor I to him, tho' as I afterwards understand, he had Advice of it before.

HOWEVER this was a Help to me, and serv'd to more than pay my Ransom to the Captain; and my Correspondent in *London* hearing of my being alive, and at *Bourdeaux*, immediatly sent me a Letter of Credit upon an *English* Merchant at *Bourdeaux*, for whatever I might have occasion for: As soon as I receiv'd this, I went to the Merchant, who honour'd the Letter of Credit, and told me, I should have what Money I pleas'd. But as I, who was before a meer

Stranger in the Place, and knew not what Course to take, had now as it were, a Friend to communicate my Affairs to, and consult with; as soon as I told him my Case, *Hold*, says he, *if that be your Case, I may perhaps find a Way to get you off without a Ransom.*

THE THERE was, it seems, a Ship bound Home to *France* from *Martinico*, taken off of Cape *Finisterre*, by an *English* Man of War, and a Merchant of *Rochelle* being a Passenger, was taken on Board, and brought into *Plymouth*: This Man had made great Sollicitation by his Friends to be exchang'd, pleading Poverty, and that he was unable to pay any Ransom; my Friend told me something of it, but not much, only bad me not be too forward to pay any Money to the Captain, but pretend I cou'd not hear from *England*: This I did, till the Captain appear'd impatient.

AFTER some Time, the Captain told me I had us'd him ill; that I had made him expect a Ransom, and he had treated me courteously, and been at Expence to subsist me, and that I held him in Suspence, but that in short, if I did not procure the Money, he would send me to *Dinant* in ten Days, to lie there as the King's Prisoner till I should be exchang'd: My Merchant gave me my Cue, and by his Direction I answer'd, I was very sensible of his Civility, and sorry he should lose what Expences he had been at; but that I found my Friends forgot me, and what to do I did not know, and that rather than impose upon him, I must submit to go to *Dinant*, or where he thought fit to send me; but that if ever I obtain'd my Liberty, and came into *England*, I would not fail to reimburse him what Expence he had been at for my Subsistance; and so in short, made my Case very bad in all my Discourse: He shook his Head, and said little, but the next Day enter'd me in the List of

English Prisoners, to be at the King's Charge, as appointed by the Intendant of the Place, and to be sent away into *Britainny*.

I WAS then out of the Captain's Power, and immediately the Merchant with two others, who were Friends to the Merchant Prisoner, at *Plymouth*, went to the Intendant, and gain'd an Order for the Exchange, and my Friend giving Security for my being forth-coming, in Case the other was not deliver'd; I had my Liberty immediately, and went Home with him to his House.

THUS we bilk'd the Captain of his Ransom Money; but however, my Friend went to him, and letting him know that I was exchanged by the Governor's Order, paid him whatever he cou'd say he was in disburse on my Account; and it was not then in the Captain's Power to object, or to claim any Thing for a Ransom.

I GOT Passage from hence to *Dunkirk*, on Board a French Vessel, and having a Certificate of an exchang'd Prisoner from the Intendant at *Bourdeaux*, I had a Passport given me, to go into the *Spanish Netherlands*, and so whither I pleas'd.

ACCORDINGLY I came to *Ghent*, in *April*—, just as the Armies were going to take the Field; I had no dislike to the Business of the Army, but I thought I was a little above it now, and had other Things to look to; for that in my Opinion, no Body went in the Field but those that cou'd not live at Home; and yet I resolv'd to see the Manner of it a little too; so having made an Acquaintance with an *English* Officer, quarter'd at *Ghent*, I told him my Intention, and he invited me to go with him, and offer'd me his Protection as a *Voluntier*, that I should quarter with him in his Tent, and live as I would, and either carry Arms, or not, as I saw Occasion.

THE Campaign was none of the hardest that had been, or were like to be; so that I had the Diversion of seeing the Service, as it was proper to call it, without much Hazard; indeed, I did not see any considerable Action, for there was not much fighting that Campaign; as to the Merit of the Cause on either Side, I knew nothing of it, nor had I suffer'd any of the Disputes about it to enter into my Thoughts: The Prince of *Orange* had been made King of *England*, and the *English* Troops were all on his Side; and I heard a great deal of Swearing and Damm-ing for King *William*, among the Soldiers; but as for Fighting, I observ'd the *French* beat them several Times, and particularly the Regiment my Friend belong'd to, was surrounded in a Village where they were posted; I knew not upon what Occasion, and all taken Prisoners; But by great good Hap, I being not in Service, and so not in Command, was stroll'd away that Day to see the Country about, for it was my Delight to see the strong Town, and observe the Beauty of their Fortifications; and while I diverted myself thus, I had the happy De-liverance of not being taken by the *French* for that Time.

WHEN I came back, I found the Enemy possess'd of the Town, but as I was no Soldier, they did me no Harm, and having my *French* Passport in my Pocket, they gave me Leave to go to *Newport*, where I took the Packet-Boat, and came over to *England*, landing at *Deal* instead of *Dover*; the Weather forcing us into the *Downs*, and thus my short Campaign ended, and this was my second Essay at Trade of Soldiering.

WHEN I came to *London*, I was very well receiv'd by my Friend, to whom I had consign'd my Effects, and I found myself in very good Circumstances; for all my Goods, which as above, by several Ships I had consign'd

to him, came safe to Hand; and my Overseers that I had left behind, had shipp'd at several Times 400 Hhds of *Tobacco* to my Correspondent in my Absence, being the Product of my Plantations, or Part of it, for the Time of my being Abroad; so that I had above a Thousand Pounds in my Factors Hands, 200 Hhds of *Tobacco* besides left in Hand, not sold.

I HAD nothing to do now, but entirely to conceal myself, from all that had any Knowledge of me before, and this was the easiest Thing in the World to do; for I was grown out of every Body's Knowledge, and most of those I had known were grown out of mine: My Captain, who went with me, or rather, who carried me away, I found by enquiring at the proper Place, had been rambling about the World, came to *London*, fell into his old Trade, which he could not forbear, and growing an eminent Highway-man, had made his *Exit* at the Gallows; after a Life of 14 Years most exquisite and successful Rogue-ries, the Particulars of which would make (as I observ'd) an admirable History; my other Brother *Jack*, who I called *Major*, followed the like wicked Trade; but was a Man of more Gallantry, and Generosity, and having committed innumerable Depredations upon Mankind, yet had always so much Dexterity as to bring himself off, till at Length he was laid fast in *Newgate*, and loaded with Irons, and would certainly have gone the same Way as the Captain; but he was so dexterous a Rogue, that no Goal, no Fetters would hold him; and he, with two more, found Means to knock off their Irons, work'd their Way thro' the Wall of the Prison, and let themselves down on the Out-side in the Night; so escaping, they found Means to get into *France*, where he followed the same Trade, and

with so much Success, that he grew famous by the Name of *Anthony*, and he had the Honour, with three of his Comrades, who he had taught the *English* Way of Robbing generously, (as they call'd it) without murdering or wounding, or ill-using those they robb'd, I say, he had the Honour to be broke upon the Wheel at the *Greve in Paris*.

ALL these Things I found Means to be fully inform'd of, and to have a long Account of the Particulars of their Conduct, from some of their Comrades, who had the good Fortune to escape, and who I got the Knowledge of, without letting them so much as guess at who I was, or upon what Account I enquir'd.

END OF VOLUME ONE

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